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THE MAHĀVAMSA
OR
THE GREAT CHRONICLE
OF CEYLON

D 580/2-80





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Pali Text Society

THE MAHĀVAMSA

OR *of Mahānāma*

THE GREAT CHRONICLE OF CEYLON

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CEYLON



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in 1908; and added the necessary introduction, appendices, and notes. Mrs. Bode has translated the German into English; and Professor Geiger has then revised the English translation.

The plan has been to produce a literal translation, as nearly as possible an absolutely correct reproduction of the statements recorded in the *Chronicle*. It is true there is considerable literary merit in the original poem, and that it may be possible hereafter to attempt a reproduction also, in English unrhymed verse, of the literary spirit of the poem. But a literal version would still be indispensable for historical purposes. For similar reasons it has been decided to retain in the translation certain technical terms used in the Buddhist Order. In a translation aiming at literary merit some English word more or less analogous in meaning might be used, regardless of the fact that such a word would involve implications not found in the original. Thus *bhikkhu* has often been rendered 'priest' or 'monk'. But a *bhikkhu* claims no such priestly powers as are implied by the former term, and would yield no such obedience as is implied in the other; and to discuss all the similarities and differences between these three ideas would require a small treatise. There are other technical terms of the same kind. It is sufficient here to explain that when such terms are left, in the present translation, untranslated, it is because an accurate translation is not considered possible. Most of them are, like *bhikkhu*, already intelligible to those who are likely to use this version. But they are shortly explained in foot-notes; and a list of them, with further interpretation, will be found at the end of the volume.

The Ceylon Government has defrayed the expense of this, as it did of the previously published translations of the *Mahāvamsa*.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Literary questions concerning *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*.

THE LITERARY QUESTIONS connected with the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the development of the historical tradition in Ceylon have been thoroughly discussed in my book *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*.¹ I believe that I have there demonstrated that the two Ceylonese Chronicles are based upon older materials and for this reason should claim our attention as sources of history.

Now, however, R. O. FRANKE has taken a decided stand against my inferences.² He disputes the existence of an older historical work as foundation of *Dīp.* and *Mah.*

The former appears to him to be only a botched compilation of Pāli quotations from the *Jātakas* and other canonical works. But the author of the *Mah.* has merely copied the *Dīp.* and the same applies to Buddhaghosa and his historical introduction to the *Samanta-Pāsādikā*. I have however, I hope, succeeded in combating the doubts and objections raised by FRANKE.³

The defects of the *Dīp.*, which naturally neither can nor should be disputed, concern the outer form, not the contents.

¹ *Dīp. und Mah. und die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon*, Leipzig, 1905. Translated into English by E. M. COOMARASWAMY, *Dīp. and Mah.*, Colombo, 1908. Quotations in the following pages follow the English edition. I may also refer here expressly to OLDENBERG's remarks, *Dīp.*, ed. Introd., p. 1 foll. (1879), as the starting-point for my own.

² *Dīp. und Mah.* in the *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* 21, pp. 203 foll.; 317 foll.

³ *Noch einmal Dīp. und Mah.*; *Zeitschr. d. D. morgenl. Gesellsch.* 63, p. 540 foll. I note that OLDENBERG in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* 13, p. 614, agrees with my inferences against FRANKE.

But that the author of the *Dīp.* simply invented the contents of his chronicle is a thing impossible to believe.

Thus it is our task to trace the sources from which he drew his material. This is made possible for us by the *Mahāvamsa-Ṭīkā*, i.e. the native commentary on our chronicle which, under the title *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, was composed by an unknown author.

I will then here briefly sum up the principal results of my labours, referring, for confirmation in detail, to my earlier works.

1. In Ceylon there existed at the close of the fourth century A.D., that is, at the time in which the *Dīpavamsa* was composed, an older work, a sort of chronicle, of the history of the island from its legendary beginnings onwards. The work constituted part of the *Aṭṭhakathā*, i.e. the old commentary-literature on the canonical writings of the Buddhists which Buddhaghosa took as a basis for his illuminating works. It was, like the *Aṭṭhakathā*, composed in Old-Sinhalese prose, probably mingled with verse in the Pāli language.

2. This *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa* existed, as did the *Aṭṭhakathā* generally, in different monasteries of the island, in various recensions which diverged only slightly from one another. Of particular importance for the further development of the tradition was the recension of the monks of the *Mahāvihāra* in *Anurādhapura*, upon which the author of the *Mah. Ṭīkā* drew for his material.

3. The chronicle must originally have come down only to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon. But it was continued later and indeed, to all appearance, down to the reign of Mahāsena (beginning of the fourth century A.D.), with which reign the *Dīpavamsa* as well as the *Mahāvamsa* comes to an end.

4. Of this work the *Dīpavamsa* presents the first clumsy redaction in Pāli verses.¹ The *MAHĀVAMSA* is then a new treatment of the same thing, distinguished from the *Dīp.*

¹ So far as language is concerned, the author's sources have been indicated, for numerous verses, by FRANKÉ; and herein lies the merit of his work, although I cannot consent to his conclusions.

by greater skill in the employment of the Pāli language, by more artistic composition and by a more liberal use of the material contained in the original work. While the authorship of the *Dīp.* is not known the author of the *Mahāvamsa* is known as Mahānāma.¹

5. It is also on the *Dīp.* that BUDDHAGHOSA bases his historical introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā*;² but he completes and adds to its information with statements which could only have been drawn directly from the *Aṭṭhakathā*.

6. The *MAHĀVAMSA-TĪKĀ* brings to the contents of the *Dīp.* and *Mah.* further additions, taken from the original work. It was certainly not composed till between 1000 and 1250 A.D. But there can be no doubt that the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa* lay before the author, as he also supposes it to be known to his readers and accessible to all.³ For this reason his statements as to the original work, its form and its contents, naturally acquire particular importance.

These conclusions are not in any way altered if I am now inclined to consider the relation between *Mah.* and *Dīp.* as a closer one than in my first work. That the author of the former knew the latter and used it I have naturally never disputed. But I should now wish, in agreement with FLEET, to go much further and regard the *Mah.* as a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the *Dīp.*, as a sort of commentary to this latter. I also think now that the quotation of the 'Mahāvamsa of the ancients' in the proemium of our *Mah.* refers precisely to the *Dīp.* I have besides already indicated the possibility of this view in my *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 17. FLEET⁴ then translates the well-known passage of the later *Cūlavamsa* (38. 59) *datvā sahaṣṣaṃ dīpetum Dīpavamsaṃ samādisi* in very illuminating fashion: 'he (king Dhātusena) bestowed a thousand (pieces of gold) and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the *Dīpavamsa*.'

¹ See RHYS DAVIDS, *Journ. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 391.

² Edited by H. OLDENBERG, *The Vinaya Piṭakam*, iii, p. 283 foll.

³ I have indicated in *Z.D.M.G.* 63, p. 549 foll., passages in the *Mah. T.* which undoubtedly bear this out.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 5, n. 1.

The interpretation hitherto given: that this is an allusion to a public recitation of the *Dīp.* must then be abandoned. But this *dīpikā*, which was composed by order of Dhātusena, is identified by FLEET with our *Mahāvamsa*. Thus, at the same time, the date of its origin is more precisely fixed. Dhātusena reigned, according to calculations which are to be confirmed further on, at the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. About this time the *Mahāvamsa* was composed.

§ 2. The Trustworthiness of the Ceylon Chronicles.

After these preliminary observations the Ceylonese Chronicles should now be judged particularly with respect to their value as HISTORICAL SOURCES, and the historical data drawn from them should be brought together.

In their character of historical sources the *Dīp.* and *Mah.* have been very differently appreciated.

FRANKE goes the furthest in scepticism. If he did in the beginning at least admit the POSSIBILITY¹ that the author of the *Dīp.* had some document or other before him, he has lately said most positively: 'in the absence of any sources, the last-named work (i.e. the *Dīpavamsa*) must be considered as standing unsupported on its own tottering feet.'² And therefore according to him no historical value can be conceded to the *Dīp.* nor to the *Mah.* nor finally to the *Smp.* FRANKE's scepticism, to which I shall return in discussing the history of the councils, ceases to be well founded as soon as we accept the thesis that the Ceylonese Chronicles are based on the *Aṭṭhakathā*. With this the tradition recedes several centuries, and the probability that it contains historical recollections is correspondingly reinforced, and that thesis must, as I have explained above, be considered as confirmed.

KERN³ too expresses himself with great caution on the historical value of *Dīp.* and *Mah.* He indeed says in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 9, '... the chronicles

¹ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1906, No. 37, column 1275, l. 2.

² *Journal of the Pali Text Soc.* 1908, p. 1.

³ *Buddhismus*, German translation by Jacobi, ii, p. 283.

Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvāṃsa, and Sāsanaṃsa deserve a special notice on account of their being so highly important for the ecclesiastical history of Ceylon.' But here, however, it is only admitted that the chronicles can be utilized as of value for the period from Devānampiyatissa onwards or perhaps only for a yet later time. For the most ancient times, when the history of continental India is also to be taken into consideration, KEENE is hardly inclined to accept them as authentic sources.

A very trenchant verdict is pronounced by V. A. SMITH in his *Asoka* on the Ceylonese Chronicles. He says in the plainest fashion: 'in this work (i.e. in the *Asoka*) the Ceylonese chronology prior to n.c. 160 is absolutely and completely rejected, as being not merely of doubtful authority but positively false in its principal propositions.'¹

Perhaps V. A. SMITH has since modified his judgement. For he says now:² 'These Sinhalese stories the value of which has been sometimes overestimated, demand cautious criticism at least as much as do other records of popular and ecclesiastical tradition.' This sounds less cutting. The warning to handle critically, which the excellent historian considers necessary with regard to the Ceylonese Chronicles, is certainly justified. It applies to all historical documents, and I have no intention at all of disputing the justice of it.

The judgement pronounced by RHYS DAVIDS³ on Dīp. and Mah. sounds much more favourable. He says: 'The Ceylon Chronicles would not suffer in comparison with the best of the Chronicles, even though so considerably later in date, written in England or in France.' He also lays stress on the fact that, as is self-evident, those Chronicles contain no pure history. But they represent the traditions of their time and permit us to draw retrospective conclusions as to earlier periods.

Lately H. C. NORMAN⁴ has defended the Ceylonese Chronicles, with complete justice as it seems to me, against

¹ *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, p. 57.

² *Early History of India* (2nd ed., 1908), p. 9.

³ *Buddhist India*, 1903, p. 274.

⁴ *A Defense of the Chronicles of the Southern Buddhists*, J.E.A.S. 1908, p. 1 foll.

undeserved distrust and exaggerated scepticism. I draw attention expressly to this essay because it naturally has many points of contact with my own researches.

If we next consider the two chronicles as a whole, without any prepossessions, it is not easy to understand whence this widespread doubt of their trustworthiness. The presentation of the subject, taken as a whole, may be called modest and simple, indeed dry. True, there is no lack of fables and marvellous tales. But they appear as outward decoration which can be easily omitted. Besides, we always meet with such stories of miracles in connexion with events of a quite clearly defined category, namely, when it is a question of celebrating the splendour and majesty of the Buddhist Order.

Mahinda arrives in Ceylon in marvellous fashion, flying through the air; miraculous phenomena accompany the 'Establishment of the Doctrine', the arrival of the relics, the planting of the Bodhi-tree, and so forth. None of this can appear strange to us. The ornament with which tradition here decks out the victory of the Order and the true faith enfolds a deeper meaning. The facts in themselves are extraordinarily simple; but to the pious sentiment of the believer they seemed great; and fantasy glorifies them with the many-coloured lights of miracle and legend.

I do not conceal from myself that this judgement of the situation lays itself open to the reproach that our method is simply to eliminate from the tradition all the miraculous stories and consider what is left over as authentic history.¹ But I think WINDISCH² has shown admirably how, in fact, in the Buddhist tradition, around a relative small nucleus all kinds of additions have collected in time, by which events, originally simple, are withdrawn gradually into the region

¹ V. A. SMITH, *Asoka*, pp. 45-46: 'Most writers have been content to lop off the miracles and to accept the residuum of the story as authentic history. Such a method of interpreting a legend does not seem to be consistent with sound principles of historical criticism.'

² *Māra und Buddha* (*Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Cl. der K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, xv, 4, 1895). *Buddha's Geburt* (*ib.*, xxvi, 2, 1907), *Die Composition des Mahāvastu* (*ib.*, xxvii, 14, 1909).

of the marvellous. 'But we must not therefore pour away the child with the bath. Here, too, the task of Science is to lay bare the grain of truth; not only this, but she must seek the meaning and significance of the mythical crown of rays that has gathered round the nucleus. For the mythical is often the covering of deep thoughts.'¹

We shall, of course, be obliged to begin by removing the mythical additions. But we need by no means take the residue as current coin. Here we are concerned to examine how far the tradition is established as trustworthy, by internal or external evidence, and how far shaken as being untrustworthy.

If we pause first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese Chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive hearers or readers. This is clear from the remarkably objective standpoint from which they judge even the mortal foes of the Aryan race. That certainly deserves to be emphasized. It is true not only of dominating personalities (such as, to all appearance, *Elāra* was) but also of the two usurpers *Sena* and *Guttika* it is said, *Dīp.* 18. 47 and *Mah.* 21. 11: *rajjam dhammena kārayum*.

Besides, the obvious endeavour to make out a systematic chronology is such as to inspire confidence at the outset. Indeed, whole sections of the *Dīp.* consist entirely of synchronistic connexions of the ecclesiastical tradition with profane history and of the history of India with that of Ceylon.

§ 3. External support of the Chronicles.

The above certainly are, in the first place, only general considerations, the value of which I myself would by no means estimate too highly. Meanwhile it is more important that the Ceylonese tradition has after all found support to a considerable extent from external testimony.

¹ WINDISCH, *Buddha's Geburt*, p. 4.

1. First as to the LIST OF INDIAN KINGS BEFORE ASOKA,¹ the statements concerning Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu as contemporaries of the Buddha agree with the canonical writings and, in respect of the names, with those of the Brahmanic tradition.

The Jaina-tradition has other names; this, however, does not affect the actual agreement. There can be no doubt that the nine Nandas as well as the two forerunners of Asoka: Candagutta and Bindusāra, were altogether historical personages. Here also, in the number of years of Candagutta's reign the Ceylonese tradition agrees completely with the Indian. V. A. SMITH,² too, does not hesitate to accept the number 24 as historical.

Besides the renowned counsellor of Candagutta, the brahman Cāpakka (Skt. Cāpakya) is known to the Ceylonese Chronicles. In respect of the length of Bindusāra's reign their statements differ from those of the Purāṇas by three years, in respect of that of Asoka by only one year. The Ceylonese tradition concerning Indian history since the Buddha is, therefore, not unsupported.

2. The CONVERSION OF CEYLON is, according to Dip. and Mah., and finally, according to the unanimous tradition of the country itself, the work of Mahinda, a son of Asoka, and his sister Saṃghamittā. V. A. SMITH calls the stories relating to this in the Chronicles 'a tissue of absurdities'.³ Asoka himself mentions Ceylon, as he explains, twice in his Inscriptions: in the Rock-Edict XIII, among the countries to which he despatched missionaries, and in Rock-Edict II, among those in which he provides for distribution of medicines.⁴ Since these Edicts belong to the thirteenth year

¹ Cf. the tables to § 9.

² *Early History of India*, pp. 115-118. Cf. also *Asoka*, p. 95.

³ *Asoka*, p. 45. OLDENBERG also (*ibid.*, p. 46) considers the tradition a pure invention.

⁴ Cf. the translations in V. A. SMITH's *Asoka*, pp. 129-133 and pp. 115-116. The expression *cikivakā* (=Skt. *cikitsā*, p. *tikicchā*), which SENART translates *remèdes*, is rendered by BÜHLER (see *Z.D.M.G.* 48, 1894, p. 50) 'hospitals'.

of Asoka's reign there appears to be an error in the Ceylonese tradition which puts the conversion of Ceylon as far on as the eighteenth year. On the other hand Asoka, in the opinion of SMITH, would, if he had really handed over his son Mahinda and his daughter Samghamittā to the Church, and had brought about the conversion of the king of Ceylon, certainly not have neglected to bring it into notice. The name 'Samghamittā' is, he thinks, from its very meaning, suspicious.

I discuss the arguments in the reverse order. The name Samghamittā is of course that which she herself assumed on entering the Order. That, beside this name, under which she became a renowned saint of the Buddhist Church, the lay-name fell into complete oblivion can certainly not cause any surprise.

That Asoka makes no mention of Mahinda and Samghamittā in his Edicts is an *argumentum e silentio*. That there is any cogency in such an argument V. A. SMITH will surely not maintain. It is indeed very difficult to say in what connexion the king would be obliged to speak of the matter. It can be perhaps expected chiefly in the so-called Minor Rock-Edict I, the Edict of Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and Brahmagiri. But here the reason would again disappear if with FLEET¹ we date this edict in the year 256 A. D. In this case, the sending of Mahinda would be about twenty years earlier than the edict, and would belong to past times.

I certainly do not wish to decide here for or against FLEET's theory. But it is clear that we are standing on too uncertain ground to allow ourselves to proceed without hesitation from an *argumentum e silentio*.

Now, finally, what as to the mention of Missions to Ceylon in the Asoka Inscriptions earlier than the thirteenth year of the king's reign?

I may observe that, at the outset, it is not absolutely certain whether by the Tambapanni of the Inscriptions Ceylon is really meant. Possibly the name may designate the

¹ 'The Conversion of Asoka,' *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 486 foll.; 'The Last Edict of Asoka,' *ib.*, p. 811 foll.; 'The Last Words of Asoka,' *ib.*, 1910, p. 1301 foll.

Tinnevelli district at the southern extremity of India, where the river Tamraparnī flows into the sea.¹ But, at the same time, if Tambaparnī should be understood to mean Ceylon the authenticity of Dīp. and Mah. is not affected in the ESSENTIAL points.

Let us look at the positive contents of the tradition. We are certain of: (1) the name Mahinda as the apostle of Ceylon. Nor is that disputed by V. A. SMITH. Here the Ceylonese narrative finds gratifying support from Hiuen-thsang² who mentions Mahendra by name expressly as the man by whom the true doctrine was spread abroad in the kingdom of Sīṃhala. It is certain: (2) that this Mahendra was a near relative of king Asoka. The Chinese pilgrims call him the younger brother³ of this latter, the Ceylon Chronicles call him his son. Here we have two conflicting reports, and it would be simply arbitrary to prefer the statement of the Chinese pilgrims to the Ceylonese tradition.

But at what result do we arrive if we put together these established facts and the mention of Ceylon in the earlier Asoka Inscriptions? Simply and solely that which is self-evident, namely, that before Mahinda relations existed between continental India and Ceylon and efforts were made to transplant the Buddhist doctrine to Ceylon.

But with Mahinda this process comes to a successful end. We can understand therefore that all the interest became concentrated in his person, and that tradition wrought together in dramatic fashion that which was a thing of slow continuous development. I consider that this would always and in all circumstances have been the critical judgment on the

¹ *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, s.v. Cf. on this subject HUTTSCHE, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 1310, n. 4.

² ST. JULIEN, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, par Hiuen-thsang, II, p. 140; BEAL, Si-yu-ki, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, transl. from the Chinese of Hiuen-thsang, II, pp. 246-247; T. WATTEES, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 93, 230, 234.

³ Besides Hiuen-thsang we have mention by Fā-hien (see LEGGE, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms by Fā-hien*, p. 77) of a younger brother of Asoka, who became a monk, without, however, mention of his name or allusion to the mission to Ceylon.

reports of our Chronicles as to the conversion of Ceylon. The fact, in essential respects, holds good, but it is a question of putting it in the right light.

Besides, a hint that Mahinda's mission was preceded by similar missions to Ceylon is to be found even in *Dīp.* and *Mah.*, when they relate that Asoka, sending to Devānappiyyatissa, with presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha.¹

Certainly on chronological grounds this cannot be immediately connected with the notices of the conversion of Ceylon to be found in the inscriptions. But it shows us that, even from the point of view of the Chronicles of Ceylon, Buddhism was not quite unknown in that country already before Mahinda's time.

3. The HISTORY OF THE MISSIONS as related in *Dīp.* and *Mah.*² receives most striking confirmation in the inscriptions discovered. On the inner lid of the relic-urn which was found in Tope no. 2 of the Sānchi group there is this inscription: Sapurisa(sa) Majjhimaśa '(relics) of the pious man Majjhima'. On the outer lid is Sapurisa(sa) Kassapagotasa Hemāvatacariyasa '(relics) of the pious man Kassapagotta (i.e. of the Kassapa clan), the teacher of the Himalaya'.³ Now Majjhima is, in fact, named in the *Mah.* as the teacher who converted the Himalaya region and Kassapagotta there appears as his companion in the *Dīp.*⁴

Again in the superscription of a relic-casket from Tope no. 2 of the Sānchi group the same Majjhima is mentioned.

On another urn from the same Tope we again find the name of Kassapagotta, this time with the epithet Kotiputta and again with the designation 'Teacher of the whole Himalaya'.

In a third urn-inscription Gotiputta (i.e. Kotiputta Kassapa-

¹ *Dīp.* 12. 5-6; *Mah.* 11. 34-35; *Smp.* 323^a-^d.

² *Dīp.* 8. 1-13; *Mah.* 12. 1-54. Cf. also *Smp.* 314¹¹-318¹².

³ See CUNNINGHAM, *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 287. Cf. RHYE DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, pp. 299-301.

⁴ *Mah.* 12. 6, 41; *Dīp.* 8. 10. Cf. *Smp.* 317¹⁰; *Mahābodhiśāstra* (ed. STENO) 115⁵, where also Kassapagotta is mentioned together with Majjhima. Cf. also *MoA. 7743*, 222¹.

gotta) appears in connexion with Dadabhisāra. This is evidently the Dundubhissara of the Dip. and the Mahābodhi-vamsa who was also among those theras who won the Himalaya countries to the Buddha's doctrine.¹

Finally the name of the thera who, according to tradition, presided over the third council under Asoka's rule, is also shown to be authentic by an inscription in a relic-casket from Tope no. 2 of the Sānchi group.² There is no doubt that by the Sapurisasa Mogaliputasa is meant the Moggaliputta Tissa of the Ceylonese Chronicles.

4. Moreover, the narrative of the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from Uravela to Ceylon finds interesting confirmation in the monuments.

At least GRÜNWEDEL, in an ingenious and, to me, convincing way,³ points out that the sculptures of the lower and middle architraves of the East Gate of the Sānchi Tope are representations of that event. Since the Sānchi-sculptures belong to the second century B.C. the representation is distant from the event by roughly speaking, only 100 or at most 150 years.

§ 4. Errors in the Chronology of the Earliest Historical Period.

I consider that such objective confirmation of the Chronicles proves at the very least this much: that their statements are not absolutely untenable and are at least worthy of being tested. Naturally they are not infallible and the longer the interval between the time of the events and the time when they are related, the greater the possibility of an objective error, and so much the more will the influence of legend be noticeable.

As regards the oldest period from Vijaya to Devanampiyatissa we feel a certain distrust of the tradition and traditional

¹ CUNNINGHAM, *l. l.*, pp. 316-317.

² CUNNINGHAM, *l. l.*, p. 289.

³ GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist Kunst in Indien*, pp. 72-73. Cf. also REYS DAVIDA, *Buddhist India*, p. 302.

chronology from the very fact that Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon is dated on the day of the Buddha's death.¹ This seems to be a biased account. Besides, there are the round numbers for the length of the single reigns which have in themselves the appearance of a set scheme and involve, moreover, a positive impossibility in respect of the last two kings of that period, PAṆḌUKĀBHAYA and MUṬASIYA.

According to our Chronicles² Paṇḍukābhaya was born shortly before the death of Paṇḍuvāsudeva. Then followed the reign of Abhaya, twenty years, and an interregnum of seventeen years. Then Paṇḍukābhaya ascends the throne at the age of thirty-seven years. He reigns seventy years. That would bring his age to 107 years!

This, however, is not enough. Paṇḍukābhaya's successor is his son Muṭasiya. He is born of Suvannapālī whom Paṇḍukābhaya had already married before the beginning of his reign. Muṭasiya must then have been past the prime of manhood when he succeeded to the throne. In spite of this a reign of sixty years is attributed to him.

It seems to me that certain names and events in the tradition may indeed be maintained, but that the last reigns were lengthened in order to make Vijaya and the Buddha contemporaries.

That in respect of certain facts, the tradition is by no means without value for that first period of Ceylonese history, is shown, for instance, by the account of Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns,³ which decidedly gives an impression of trustworthiness.

Also after Devānampiyatissa's reign we find matter for doubt.⁴ A reign of forty years is attributed to the king

¹ Mah. 6. 47. In the Dip. 9. 21-22 it is stated, in a somewhat more general way, that *at the time* of the death of the Buddha (parinibbāga samaye, not precisely on the day of the death) Vijaya landed in Ceylon. The same in Smp. 320^{ab}.

² Dip. 11. 1, 4; Mah. 9. 28; 10. 106. See previously TURNOUR, *Mahāvamsa*, Introd., p. II.

³ Mah. 10. 26 foll. See below, Appendix C, p. 288 foll.

⁴ Cf. also on this subject FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 340.

mentioned, who is said to have been Muṭasiva's second son, although he was no longer young when he ascended the throne. But to him succeeded three younger brothers, Uttiya,¹ Mahāsiva and Sūratissa, each of whom reigned ten (= thirty) years. Nay, after the intervening rule of the two Damiḷas, Sena and Guttika, which lasted twelve years, a fourth brother, Asela, ascends the throne and also reigns ten years.

The reigns of the sons of Muṭasiva, who himself occupied the throne for sixty years, would then cover a period of ninety-two years!

We see clearly that also in the period between Devānampiyatissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there were still gaps in the tradition which were filled in with fictitious construction. For the line of Devānampiyatissa we have again the remarkable round numbers 40 + 10 + 10 + 10 + 10.

In the later periods we encounter no such difficulties and impossibilities. The chronology is credible, the numbers appear less artificial and more trustworthy.

But even in that first historical period one fact stands out clearly and distinctly from the wavering traditions concerning the times immediately before and after. That is the reign of Devānampiyatissa and the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon. And with this we approach the general standpoint from which we have to judge the historical tradition as to the earliest and earlier times in our Chronicles.

§ 5. The Year of the Buddha's Death.

We have to do with a monkish tradition. The starting-point of its chronological statements is the year of the Buddha's death. For this tradition naturally not every event nor every historical personage is important to an equal degree, but chiefly in so far as they were of importance for the development of the Buddhist community. There are isolated occurrences and personalities connected, even in early times,

¹ The name of Uttiya and his consort is confirmed by an inscription in Periya-Puliyaṅkulam (Northern Province). See *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report, 1906* (ix. 1909), p. 45.

with a certain date which announced the time that had passed since the Buddha's death.¹ As for the intervening period the traditions concerning it were far less well established and precise, especially from the chronological point of view.

Here fictions were made, building up and completing the tradition from which subsequently, with those fixed points as framework, the chronological system was developed that we find in the *Dīp.* and *Mah.*, as also in the Introduction to the *Smp.*, and again in the later historical literature of Ceylon. In the *Dīp.*, the oldest source accessible to us, this system appears already complete. It is most certainly not a creation of the author of the Chronicle but only taken over, in all probability, from the *Aṭṭhakathā*.

One of the fixed dates, which was established at a specially early period, and which evidently forms the corner-stone of the whole system, is the number 218 for the consecration (*abhiseka*) of Asoka. The *Dīp.* 6. 1, says:—

dve satāni ca vassāni aṭṭhāraṇa vassāni ca
saṃbuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Piyadassano //

'218 years after the Saṃbuddha had passed into Nirvāṇa Piyadassano (Asoka) was consecrated.'

And the *Mah.* 5. 21:—

Jīnanibbāṇato pacchā purā tassābhisekato
Saṭṭhāraṇaṃ vassasatadvayaṃ evaṃ vijāṇiyaṃ.

'After the Nirvāṇa of the Conqueror and before his (Asoka's) consecration there were 218 years; this should be known.'

¹ In the same way, to date the Mahāvīra in the Jaina tradition the number 155 is evidently decisive as being the sum total of the years between his death and the beginning of Candragupta's reign. See Hemacandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparacan*, ed. JACONT, viii, 339; Pref., p. 6. If we accept the year 321 B.C. for this last event we have as result 476 B.C. as the year of Mahāvīra's death. Certainly this is in contradiction with the Buddhist reckoning in so far as, according to Majjh. Nik. II. 243^a foll., the 'Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta' (i.e. the Mahāvīra) must have died BEFORE the Buddha. OLDENBERG, *Z.D.M.G.* 34, p. 749.

THAT IS TO SAY, THAT AFTER A LAPSE OF 218 YEARS, i.e. SOMETIME IN THE YEAR 219 AFTER THE BUDDHA'S DEATH, THE CONSECRATION OF ASOKA TOOK PLACE.¹

Since Asoka had already reigned four years before he performed the abhiseka ceremony² his accession falls 214 years after the Nirvāṇa. According to the Ceylonese tradition the reign of Asoka was preceded by that of Bindusūra, lasting twenty-eight, and that of Candagutta lasting twenty-four years (Mah. 5. 18; Dip. 5. 100). Thus Candagutta would have ascended the throne 214 - (28 + 24 years), i.e. 162 years after the Nirvāṇa.³ Now this event is one of the few in the earlier Indian history which we can date with some approach to certainty. It falls in the year 321 B.C. or within two years of this date,⁴ allowing for error.

THUS THERE RESULTS AS THE PROBABLE YEAR OF THE BUDDHA'S DEATH $(321 + 162) = 483$ B.C. As he died at the age of eighty years the year of his birth should be put at 563 B.C.

But we must emphatically state that this calculation too is hypothetical, that we are only able to give an approximate and not a perfectly exact result. Moreover, we shall see below that, in the Ceylon Chronicles themselves, there is a contradiction which we can hardly pass by.

First of all the whole calculation, as OLDENBERG⁵ has quite justly insisted, rests on the supposition that the date

¹ Slightly different in the Smp., p. 299^{ab}, which puts the abhiseka in the year 218 (dvinnam vassasātūnam upari atthārasame vasse). On the tradition on Asoka's age of the Northern Buddhists see § 11.

² Dip. 6. 21-22; cf. Smp. l.l. Moreover, Mah. 5. 22 contains the same statement. NORMAN, *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 10, is mistaken when he says that, according to the Mah., accession should be put at the year 218 A.B. and the abhiseka at 222.

³ With this calculation cf. FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1906, pp. 984-986 and 1909, p. 1 foll., and particularly p. 28 foll. See also WICKHEMANSINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 142, n. 7.

⁴ V. A. SMITH, *J.R.A.S.* 1901, pp. 831-834; *Early History of India*, pp. 38-39.

⁵ *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1910, p. 611.

218 for Asoka's abhiseka is authentic. It really seems to me that it is just on this very point that scepticism is least necessary. The date is supported by the best testimony and has nothing in it to call for suspicion. The interval of time is certainly not so great that the preserving, within the ecclesiastical world, of a definite tradition as to an event of such great importance should be improbable or indeed impossible.

On the other hand we must not forget that the date 321 for Candragupta's accession, which forms a point of support for the hypothesis, is only approximately correct. A little shifting back or forward is therefore quite possible.

Finally, there is the supposition that the length of Candagutta's reign (twenty-four years) and Bindusāra's (twenty-eight) is established with certainty. Now it seems indeed that, with regard to the former, scepticism is quite out of place. Here the northern tradition is in agreement with the southern,¹ which is certainly an important point. On the other hand there is a difference of three years in respect of Bindusāra's reign. Here again there is a possibility that the date may be shifted.

Nevertheless it does seem that on the much-disputed question of the year of the Buddha's death there is a tendency toward unison. Marked differences of view are disappearing, the accepted dates are less far removed one from another.²

The chronology current in Ceylon, Burma, Siam starts out from the middle of the year 544 B.C.³ as the date of the Nirvāṇa. That this date is wrong and contains an error of, roughly speaking, sixty years, is now, we may say, generally admitted. Moreover, FLEET⁴ has pointed out that this reckoning is by no means based on a continuous tradition

¹ Cf. below the tables to § 9.

² For earlier views see FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, pp. 4-5; MARIE DUFF, *Chronology of India*, p. 7; KERK, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 107, n. 6.

³ Not 543! See WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 122, n. 7. The year of Buddha, 2444, began on May 13, 1900.

⁴ 'The Origin of the Buddhavarsha, the Ceylonese Reckoning from the Death of Buddha,' *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 323 foll., esp. 332.

from early times. It is rather a relatively late fabrication, which probably does not go back further than the twelfth century A.D.¹ How the error of sixty years came into the era certainly still needs explanation.

Again, the date 477 B.C. as the year of the Buddha's death, which was accepted by MAX MÜLLER and CUNNINGHAM, must be given up. It rests on the erroneous premise that the year of Candragupta's accession was 315 B.C.²

V. A. SMITH³ accepts 487 or 486 B.C. as the year of the Nirvāṇa, GOPALA Aiyer,⁴ who starts from 269 as the year of Asoka's coronation, the year 486 B.C. Both attach some importance, it would seem, to the so-called 'dotted Record',⁵ which was continued in Canton up to the year 489 A.D. and marks each year, from the date of the Buddha onwards, with a dot. In the year 489 A.D. the number of dots amounted to 975, which would bring us to the year 486 B.C. as the starting-point.

I would not for my part attach too much importance to this 'dotted Record'. It is singularly improbable that in the course of time—it is a question of nearly a thousand years!—not a single error or oversight should have occurred. The essential, to my thinking, is that the difference between the various reckonings is already reduced by now to three or four years. But if V. A. SMITH, from his own standpoint, arrives at a result so closely approaching that to which the corrected Ceylon-Tradition brings us, he might well have been led to a somewhat milder judgment as to their trustworthiness and their value.

Finally, the whole difference comes down to this: whether, agreeing with the Purāṇas, we allow Bindusāra a reign of twenty-five years, or, in agreement with the Mahāvamsa, allow him twenty-eight years. In the former case we come to the

¹ As it now appears (see below) in the eleventh century.

² *S.B.E.*, x, 2nd ed., 1908, pp. 43-47.

³ *Early History of India*, pp. 41-43.

⁴ 'The Date of Buddha,' *Ind. Ant.* xxxvii, 1908, p. 341 foll.

⁵ See TAKAKUSU, *J.R.A.S.* 1896, p. 436 foll.; 1897, p. 113; FLEET, *ib.*, 1909, p. 2.

year 486 as the year of the Nirvāṇa, in the latter case to 483 B.C. If we then take the 219th year after the Nirvāṇa as the year of Asoka's abhiśeka, there results in the former case 268/67 B.C., in the latter 265/64 B.C.

It would be of great importance to us if we might refer the date 256 at the end of the so-called 'Minor Rock-Edict I'¹ to the years elapsed from the Nirvāṇa to the publication of the Edict. This opinion was formerly held, represented particularly by BÜHLER and FLEET.²

But recently the interpretation of that Edict was cleared up to a certain extent. The merit belongs to F. W. THOMAS.³ He was the first to point out that the expressions vivuthena and vivāsā (vivuthā), which appear in connexion with the number 256, should be derived from vi-vas in the sense 'to be absent from home, to dwell far away'. Then in his second article he has ingeniously demonstrated that the number 256 does not denote years but nights, i.e. nights and days. In the *Sahasrām* text he first discovered the word *lāti=rātri* in *dve sapamūlātisatā* = Skt. *dve śatpāñcāsarātrīsatā*.

These discoveries were acknowledged both by FLEET and HULTZSCH.⁴ But now opinions diverge. F. W. THOMAS takes it to mean that Asoka published the Edict when on a religious journey. The number would refer to the 256 changes of camp in the course of this tour of inspection.

But FLEET interprets *vivutha* and *vivāsā* in another way. According to him the allusion is to the renunciation of the household life, to the life far from house and family. He takes it to mean that Asoka after a reign of thirty-seven years had renounced the throne and the world to spend the rest of his life in religious retreat. His dwelling was the mountain

¹ The Edict is to be found in Rūpnāth, *Sahasrām*, in Brahmagiri and elsewhere. V. A. SMITH, *Asoka*, p. 138, n. 3.

² Cf. BÜHLER, *Epigraphia Indica*, iii. 138; FLEET, 'The last Edict of Asoka,' *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 811 foll.

³ *Ind. Ant.* xxvii, 1908, pp. 22-23, and especially 'Les vivāsā d'Asoka,' *Journal Asiatique*, May-June, 1910, p. 507 foll.

⁴ FLEET, 'The Last Words of Asoka,' *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 1302 foll.; HULTZSCH, 'A Third Note on the Rūpnāth Edict,' *ib.*, p. 1308 foll.

Suvarṇagiri near Girivraja in Magadha.¹ Hence in the passage which is preamble to the Edict in the Mysore versions Suvarṇagiri is named, and not the capital Pāṭaliputra, as the place where the Edict, the 'last word of Asoka', was published.

Moreover, the number 256 has, according to FLEET, a special significance. It was not by chance that Asoka published the Edict on the 256th day of his life in retreat. At this very time the 256th year since the Nirvāṇa came to an end. Asoka would thus have spent, for each year elapsed since the Buddha's death, one day in religious contemplation as a brahmācārī.

This is a very ingenious idea. But it would be hazardous for the present time to base further conclusions on this bold and seductive combination.

§ 6. Traces of an era in Ceylon reckoned from 483 B.C.

Recently, however, the date 483 seems to have found further support. Here we must take into consideration an important observation of WICKREMASINGHE,² which completes the proof adduced by FLEET and discussed above, of the late origin of the Ceylonese era, that starts from the year 544. Indications are to be found that in earlier times, and indeed down to the beginning of the eleventh century, an era persisted even in Ceylon which was reckoned from 483 a.c., as the year of the Buddha's death. From the middle of the eleventh century the new era took its rise, being reckoned from the year 544, and this is still in use.

In dealing with the question we have to date the immediate predecessors of king Parākramabāhu I, beginning with Udaya III (1507 A.D.).³

As to Parākramabāhu I, we have information from inscrip-

¹ Cf. also on this, FLEET, 'The Conversion of Asoka,' *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 486 foll.

² See *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 155 foll.

³ The names are given in WIJESINHA, *The Mahāvamsa*, Part II, translated, pp. xxii-xxiii.

tions, confirmed and completed by literary data, according to which he was crowned when 1696 years had elapsed since the Buddha's death, that is, in the year 1697 A.B. Eight years later, 1705 A.B., a second coronation apparently took place. In the fourth year afterwards, when 1708 years had gone by since the Nirvāṇa, that is, in 1709 A.B., he held a Buddhist Synod.¹ According to the Ceylonese era those are the years 1153, 1161, 1163 A.D. But this date for Parākramabāhu is supported by an entirely independent source, namely a South-Indian inscription at the Temple of Tiruvāliśvara in Ārpāk-kama. Thus for the second half of the twelfth century the existence of the Ceylon era, reckoned from 544, is established with certainty.

Now according to the Cūlavamsa² (56. 16 foll.) the six predecessors of Parākramabāhu, from Parākrama Pāṇḍu onwards, reigned 107 years. Thus the accession of the last-named prince falls at 1590 A.B. or, according to the Ceylonese era, 1046 A.D. Moreover, this date is confirmed by the South-Indian Maṇimaṅgalaṃ inscription, which is dated in the same year.³

According to the latter, Parākrama Pāṇḍu was conquered and killed in this year by the Coja king Rajadhirāja I. It is true the Cūlavamsa gives Parākrama Pāṇḍu a reign of two years, but we must rather take the accession and death of the king as falling in one and the same year, 1590 A.B. = 1046 A.D. Thus it is proved, at the same time, that the Ceylon-era also existed in the middle of the eleventh century.

But from a South-Indian inscription we can also fix a date for Udaya III among the predecessors of Parākrama Pāṇḍu, a date which throws a completely new light on the whole reckoning of eras.

¹ See the Galvihāra-Insc. of Pojonnarawa, II. 1-4 (Ed. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscr. of Ceylon*, pp. 87, 120); *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, ed. WICKREMASINGHE, pp. 262^a, 22^c. Cf. *Epigr. Zeyl.* I, p. 123.

² I designate thus the later continuation of the Mahāvamsa from 37. 51 onwards.

³ HULTZSCH, *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, no. 28, p. 53; *Epigr. Zeyl.* pp. 80, 155.

Since, according to the *Cūlavamsa*,¹ the time between the accession of Udaya III and that of Parākrama Paṇḍu amounts to ninety-three years eight days, and, as we saw above, the latter ascended the throne in 1590 A. D., we have consequently for the accession of this former king the date 1497 A. D. But this year, according to the Tanjore inscription of king Rājendra Coḷadeva, must be about the year 1015 A. D.

The inscription² gives an account of a military expedition to Ceylon. This invasion by Coḷa corresponds as to its details with one which, according to the *Cūlavamsa* 53. 40 foll., occurred under Udaya III at the beginning of his reign. KIELHORN has calculated the time of Coḷadeva's accession as between the end of 1011 and the middle of 1012 A. D.; the expedition falls between the fourth and sixth year of the reign, that is, between 1015 and 1018. These years must coincide with the years 1497 and 1498 A. D. Of the 1497 years (-1015) remain 482, which fall within pre-Christian times. In other words: THE BUDDHA DIED 483 B. C.

So, with WICKREMASINGHE (*l. l.*, p. 157) we must state the matter thus. The author of that part of the *Cūlavamsa* which deals with the kings from Udaya III to Parākrama-bāhu I lived at a time when the present era, reckoned from 544 B. C., was in use. He was acquainted with three well-established dates, 1497, 1590, and 1692 A. D., for the accession of Udaya III, Parākrama Paṇḍu, and Parākramabāhu I. But he did not know that the first of the three dates was based on quite a different era, reckoned from 483 B. C. The interval between Udaya III and Parākrama Paṇḍu amounted, in his view, to ninety-three years, but was in reality only thirty-one years (1015-1046 A. D.).

Certainly, considering the detail in which the events of the period from Udaya III to Parākrama Paṇḍu are described by the *Cūlavamsa*, it is difficult to say at what point we should undertake to strike out the surplus of sixty-two years. The

¹ See WICKREMASINGHE, *l. l.*, p. xxii.

² HULTSCH, *South Indian Inscr.* II, no. 9, pp. 90-93; KIELHORN, *Epigraphia Indica*, vii, p. 7; *Epigr. Zeyl.* i, p. 79.

principal part must perhaps fall within the reign of Mahinda V and the interregnum that followed, for which thirty-six years and twelve years are set down. But that the tradition regarding the period in question is not well established is easily explained by the unrest and confusion which prevailed at that time.

§ 7. The dates of Devānampiyatissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

The tradition according to which Asoka was consecrated king 218 years after the Nirvāṇa certainly arose in India. The first envoys of Buddhism brought it to Ceylon with them, and here a CHRONOLOGICAL CONNEXION WAS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE REIGN OF ASOKA AND THAT OF DEVĀNAMPİYATISSA, under whom Buddhism made its entry into Ceylon.

That Devānampiyatissa and Asoka were really contemporaries we have no reason to doubt. On the one hand the Ceylonese tradition concerning the missions is supported by the discoveries in the Bhilsa-topes. On the other hand we know from Asoka's inscriptions that as a matter of fact an eager missionary-activity prevailed in his time.

According to the *Dīpavamsa* DEVĀNAMPİYATISSA was consecrated king 236 years after the Buddha's death,¹ i.e. in the 237th year. According to the *Mah.* 11. 40 the consecrating of Devānampiyatissa took place on the first day of the bright half of the ninth month, Maggasira (October–November).

Now since, according to *Dip.* 11. 14, the consecration of Tissa was later by a certain number of years—I shall discuss the passage further on—AND SIX MONTHS later—than the abhiseka of Asoka, this latter event must have taken place

¹ *Dip.* 17. 78:

dve satāni ca vassāni chattiṃsa ca samvacchare
sambuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Devānampiyō.

Observe that the formula used is the same as in 6. 1 for dating Asoka's abhiseka. See above, p. xiii. The date 236 is also to be found in the *Nikāya-nāṃgraha*, ed. WICKREMASINGHE, p. 10¹, and it results in *Dip.* and *Mah.* as the sum total of the reigns of all the kings from Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa.

in the third month *Jetṭha* (April-May),¹ and in fact, as we know, in the 219th year after the *Nirvāṇa*.

According to the tradition prevailing in Ceylon² the Buddha died on the full-moon day of the second month of the year *Vesākha* (March-April), according to our reckoning: of the year 483 B.C. Thus on the same day 265 B.C. the year 218 A.B. would have come to an end. A month later, roughly speaking, Asoka would be consecrated. In the month *Vesākha*, 247 B.C. the year 236 A.B. came to an end. In the autumn of the same year the first coronation of *Devānampiyatissa* took place. A second coronation³ of this king was celebrated in the following *Vesākha* (March-April), 246 B.C.

But there are certain statements which are not in agreement with this reckoning. In a passage in the *Dip.*⁴ it is said that Mahinda came to Ceylon 236 years after the *Nirvāṇa*. And it is said expressly that this arrival took place on the full-moon day of the third month *Jetṭha* (April-May).⁵ But a new Buddha-year had begun in the preceding month. Thus if *Tissa's* first consecration falls in the 237th year A.B., then Mahinda's arrival falls in the 238th, that is, not 236 but 237 years had elapsed since the *Nirvāṇa*.

This contradiction was discovered by FLEET⁶ who made an ingenious attempt to explain it.

The full-moon day of *Vesākha* as the day of the Buddha's death is open to doubt. This day recurs only too frequently in the Buddha's life. On the other hand FLEET points out

¹ On the names of the months in the Indian calendar see our transl., note to I. 12.

² Mah. 3. 2; Buddhaghosa in Sum. I. 6^o and Smp. 283^o, 4. Cf. *Dip.* K. 1 foll. for the same results.

³ *Dip.* 11. 39; Mah. 11. 42.

⁴ *Dip.* 15. 71:

dve vassantā honti chattiṃsa ca vassā tathā
Mahinda nāma nāmena jetayissati sāsanaṃ.

⁵ *Dip.* 12. 44; 17. 88 (thirty days after the second consecration!); Mah. 13. 18. At *Dip.* 11. 40 read tato māsaṃ atikkamma. See OLDENBERG, note on this passage.

⁶ 'The Day on which Buddha died.' *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 1 foll.; particularly 6, 11, 31.

that according to a notice in Hiuen-tsang the sect of the Sarvāstivādins puts the date of the Nirvāṇa, contrary to the usual statement, at the eighth day of the second half of the eighth month of the year, Kattika (Sept.-Oct.).¹ Following this FLEET reckons the day of the Buddha's death as falling on October 13, 483 B.C.

If we take this day as our point of departure the above-mentioned contradiction disappears. The year 218 A.B. came then to an end on October 13, 265, and Asoka was not crowned in this year, but in the year 264 B.C. in the third month.² The year 236 A.B. ends on October 13, 247 B.C., a month later in the year 237 A.B. Tissa was consecrated king;³ in the same year, five months later, there followed the second⁴ coronation, and yet one month later the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon.

We have then the following dates:—

1. October 13, 265, end of the year 218 A.B.
2. April 25, 264, Asoka's abhiṣeka.
3. October 13, 247, end of the year 236 A.B.
4. November 6, 247, Tissa's first coronation.
5. April 16, 246, Tissa's second coronation.
6. May 16, 246, Mahinda comes to Ceylon.

But here I must point out a difficulty which shows, to say the least, that our sources are not always exact in their calculation of time supposing we do not accept a variation by even one year. The death of Muṭasiva, and therefore also the first crowning of Devānampiyatissa, we find transferred to the seventeenth year of Asoka, in Smp. 321¹, and, as it appears, also in Dīp. 11. 14.²

¹ See BEAL, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, p. 33; STANISLAS JULIEN, *Mémoires*, i, pp. 324-335.

² The day, according to FLEET, is April 25. *J.R.A.S.* 1909, pp. 26 and 31.

³ According to FLEET, *l.l.*, p. 32, on November 6.

⁴ According to FLEET, *l.l.*, on April 16.

⁵ The phrasing in the Smp. *Asokadhammarājassa sattaru-same vasse idha Muṭasivarājā kūlāṃ akūsi Devānampiyatisso rajjasaṃ pāpuṃ* is not at all ambiguous. The Dīp. expresses

But now even if we set out from April 25, 264 (not 265) n.c. as the date of Asoka's abhiseka, the seventeenth year is already ended on the same day of 247. Then Tissa's coronation, as the dates 218 and 236 have already shown, falls, without any doubt, in the eighteenth (not seventeenth) year of Asoka.

But that notice in the *Smp.* is not an isolated example. At Mah. 20. 1 the planting of the Bodhi-tree in Anurādhapura is transferred to the eighteenth year of Asoka. This, too, does not agree with the reckoning elsewhere. There can be no doubt that that event falls in the nineteenth year of Asoka.¹ Naturally, together with that chronological statement, other dates based upon it and given by the *Mahāvamsa* 20. 2 foll. are shifted also.

It suffices to point out these discrepancies. They are merely to show that caution is after all not out of place.

2. Further, there is an interesting date connected with the time of *VATṬAGĀMAṆI*. We have, namely, according to Mah. 33. 80-81, an interval of 217 years 10 months and 10 days between the founding of the Mahāvihāra by Devānampiyatissa and that of the Abhayagiri-vihāra by *Vatṭagāmaṇi*.²

The date of the consecration of the Mahāvihāra can be exactly ascertained by the Ceylon chronology. On the full-moon day of the month *Jetṭha* Mahinda came to Ceylon. This was, according to *FLEET*'s calculation,³ May 16 (246 n.c.). A day later, on May 17, Mahinda came to the capital and

itself less clearly; however, by the words *tamhi sattarase vasse chamāse ca anāgate* I can only understand that there were six months still to come to complete the seventeenth year.

¹ We can hardly use the passage *Dip.* 12. 42-43 for chronology. But it seems to give the correct reckoning, the nineteenth year of Asoka, for Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon.

² The same date, possibly taken from the Mah., is to be found in the *Nik. Saṃgr.*, p. 11^b. The Mah. *Tikkā*, p. 115 (on Mah. 5. 11-13), gives as the date of the schism of the *Dhammarucikā* of the Abhayagiri the round number of 217 years after the founding of the faith in Ceylon.

³ *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 28. For the following cf. Mah. 14. 42; 15. 11, 24.

spent the night in the Mahāmeghavana. This the king presented to Mahinda and his companions as an ārama on the following day, May 18, 246 B.C. This then is the day of the founding of the Mahāvihāra. We are brought then to the end of March 28 B.C. for the founding of the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

I now believe that we ought to attach special importance precisely to those dates which state generally the interval between two important events. The date number 218 in connexion with Vattagāmaṇi was also known in later times.

It is implied in the number 454 of Vattagāmaṇi in the Galvihāra-Inscription of Polonnaruwa.¹ For this has evidently arisen from the addition of 236 (the date of Devānampiyatissa) to 218.

Moreover, there can be no doubt as to the statement in Mah. 33. 78 foll. that the founding of the Abhayagiri-vihāra took place in the second half of the reign of Vattagāmaṇi. Therefore I do not hesitate to place the beginning of this second half of Vattagāmaṇi's reign at the end of the year 29 or the beginning of the year 28 B.C.

Of course this leads us into certain difficulties when we add up the figures of the individual reigns between Devānampiyatissa and Vattagāmaṇi according to the readings accepted in my edition. From these figures it results that Vattagāmaṇi ascended the throne for the second time in the year 39 B.C. We have then a difference, in round numbers, of about ten years.

This difficulty disappears if we read² Mah. 21. 11, with the Singhalese MSS. (duve) dvāvisavassāni, not with the Burmese duve dvādasa vassāni, to give thus to the Daṁḍas Sena and Gutika twenty-two and not twelve years' reign. To be sure the Dip. (18. 47) has dvādasa vassāni, which certainly must be taken into account. On the other hand the later Ceylonese literature (Thūpavaṃsa, Pūjāvaliya, Rājā-

¹ ED. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 87 (Sāra siya suppaṇṇas hawuruddak). See FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 330.

² In my edition I originally accepted the former reading, however in the 'Corrections' (p. 368) I have given the preference to dvādasa.

valiya¹) only gives the number 22. In any case at the time the Thūp. was composed, according to it, the date stood so in the Mah.

Naturally, to be consequent, we must also read Mah. 27. 6 in the prophecy concerning Dutthagāmaṇi, with the Sinhalese MSS. cha cattālisa satam '146' or cattālisa satam '140'. From the point of view of textual criticism the latter reading seems to me to be the safer; also I should be inclined to believe that in this connexion a round number would be more appropriate.

I confess that I only brought myself unwillingly to depart from the reading of the Burmese MSS. They contain elsewhere, without doubt, the better text. Perhaps we must conclude that, in regard to Sena and Guttika, the Burmese recension adopted the reading of the Dip. and that, in accordance with this, in Mah. 27. 6, also the number was altered to chattipsasatavassāni to do away with the mistake thus caused in the addition total.

Taking as a basis the date 483 a.c. we can provisionally draw up a list of the kings according to Dip. and Mah.²

§ 8. List of the Ancient Kings of Ceylon.

No.	Name	Dip.	Mah.	Length of Reign		Buddh. Era 483 a.c.	Christian Era
				Dip.	Mah.		
				Y. M. D.	Y. M. D.		
1	Vijaya	9.42	7.74	38 — —	38 — —	1-28	431-445
	Interregnum . . .	11.9	8.5	1 — —	1 — —	29-30	445-444
2	Paṇḍuvāmadeva . .	10.5	9.25	30 — —	30 — —	39-59	444-414
3	Abhaya	10.7	10.52	20 — —	20 — —	59-59	414-394
	Interregnum . . .	11.11	10.105	17 — —	17 — —	69-106	394-377
4	Paṇḍukābhaya . . .	11.4	10.106	70 — —	70 — —	106-176	377-307
5	Mutasiva	11.5	11.4	60 — —	60 — —	176-236	307-247
	(17.78)			236 — —	236 — —		

¹ For the passages see Dip. and Mah., p. 120.

² See FLXER's list, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 350. The particular aim of this Introduction obliges me, on my side, to draw up a table to enable the reader of the translation to take a rapid survey.

No.	Name	Dip.	Mah.	Length of Reign		Buddh. Era 483 B.C.	Christian Era
				Dip.	Mah.		
				Y. M. D.	Y. M. D.		
6	Devānampiyatissa.	17.92	20.28	40 — —	40 — —	336-376	247-207
7	Uttiya	17.98	20.57	10 — —	10 — —	376-386	207-197
8	Mahāsiva	18.45	21.1	10 — —	10 — —	386-396	197-187
9	Sūratissa	18.46	21.3	10 — —	10 — —	396-406	187-177
10	Sena	18.47	21.11	12 — —	22 — —	406-426	177-157
11	Gutika						
12	Asela	18.48	21.12	10 — —	10 — —	426-436	157-147
13	Ejāsa	18.49	21.14 (27.6)	44 — —	44 — —	436-582	147-101
				136 — —	146 — —		
14	Duttāgāmani	18.54	32.35, 57	24 — —	24 — —	382-406	101-77
15	Saddhatissa	20.7	33.4	18 — —	18 — —	406-424	77-59
16	Thūlathana	20.8	33.19	— 1 10	— 1 10	424	59
17	Lañjātissa	20.9	33.28	9 6 —	9 — 15	424-433	59-50
18	Khallātānāga (Mahārattaka)	20.12	33.29	6 — —	6 — —	433-439	50-44
		20.13	—	— 1 —	— — —	—	—
				57 7 11	57 1 25		
19	Vattagāmani	20.14	33.37	— 5 —	— 5 —	439 ¹	44
	Five Damiḥa	20.15-17	33.56-61	14 7 —	14 7 —	439-454	44-29
20	Pulakhattha (3 y.)						
21	Bāhiya (2 y.)						
22	Paṇḍarāyana (7 y.)						
23	Piṇḍarāyana (7 m.)						
24	Dadhika (2 y.)						
25	Vattagāmani	20.19	33.102	12 — —	12 — —	454-466	29-17
26	Mahāgūṭi Mahātissa	20.22	34.1	14 — —	14 — —	466-480	17-3
27	Coranāga	20.24	34.13	12 — —	12 — —	480-492	3 B.C.-9 A.D.
28	Tissa	20.25	34.15	8 — —	8 — —	492-495	9 A.D.-12 A.D.
29	Siva			1 2 —	1 2 —		
30	Vatuka			1 2 —	1 2 —		
31	Darubhatikātissa	20.26-30	34.18-27	1 1 —	1 1 —	495-499	A.D. 12-16
32	Niliya			— 3 —	— 6 —		
33	Anulā			— 4 —	— 4 —		
				60 — —	60 3 —		
34	Kutakannatissa	20.55	34.50	22 — —	22 — —	499-521	16-38
35	Bhātikabhaya	21.30	34.37	28 — —	28 — —	521-549	38-66
36	Mahādāthikamahā- nāga	21.33	34.69	12 — —	12 — —	549-561	66-78
37	Amanāgāmani	21.37	35.1	9 8 —	9 8 —	561-571	78-88
38	Kapirajānūtissa	21.38	35.9	3 — —	3 — —	571-574	88-91
39	Cūḍabhaya	21.40	35.12	1 — —	1 — —	574-575	91-92
	Sivall	21.41	35.14	— 4 —	— 4 —	575	92
	Interregnum	—	35.27	— — —	3 — —	575-578	92-95

¹ According to the Burmese MSS. only 12 years. See p. XXX.² See the same figure Nīk. samgr. 10th.

No.	Name	Dip.	Mah.	Length of Reign		Buddh. Era 483 B.C.	Christian Era
				Dip.	Mah.		
				Y. M. D.	Y. M. D.		
40	Dandaga	21.43	35.45	6 — —	6 — —	578-584	95-101
41	Caṇḍamukhasiva . . .	21.45	35.46	8 7 —	8 7 —	584-593	101-110
42	Yasaśālakatissa . . .	21.46	35.50	8 7 —	7 8 —	593-601	110-118
43	Subharaḥa	21.48	35.56	6 — —	6 — —	601-607	118-124
44	Yasaḥha	22.11	35.100	44 — —	44 — —	607-651	124-168
45	Vaṇṇasaṅkhatissa . . .	22.12, 27	35.112	3 — —	3 — —	651-654	168-171
46	Gajabāhukagāmaṇi . .	22.14, 28	35.115	22 — —	22 — —	654-676	171-193
47	Mahallanaga	22.17, 29	35.123	6 — —	6 — —	676-682	193-199
				180 2 —	182 3 —		
48	Bhāṭikatisa	22.22, 30	36.1	24 — —	24 — —	682-708	199-225
49	Kanithatissa	22.23, 31	36.6	18 — —	18 — —	708-724	223-241
50	Khuṇḍanaga	22.32	36.18	2 — —	2 — —	724-726	241-243
51	Kuṇḍanaga	22.33	36.19	1 — —	1 — —	726-727	243-244
52	Sirinaga I	22.36	36.23	19 — —	19 — —	727-746	244-263
53	Vohārikatisa ¹	22.45	36.27	22 — —	22 — —	746-768	263-285
54	Abhayanaḥa ¹	22.38	36.51	22 — —	8 — —	768-776	285-293
55	Sirinaga II	22.46	36.54	2 — —	2 — —	776-778	293-295
56	Vijayakumāra	22.51	36.57	1 — —	1 — —	778-779	295-296
57	Samghatissa	22.52	36.64	4 — —	4 — —	779-783	296-300
58	Samghabodhi	22.53	36.73	2 — —	2 — —	783-785	300-302
59	Gothakābhaya	22.60	36.98	13 — —	13 — —	785-798	302-315
60	Jetthatisa	22.65	36.122	10 — —	10 — —	798-808	315-325
61	Mahāsena	22.66	37.1	27 — —	27 — —	808-835	325-352
				167 — —	153 — —		
Total sum				836 0 11	834 7 25		

Of course the dates set down can only be regarded as having an approximate value. For the Chronicles, mostly, give the reign of each individual king rounded off in whole years. Rājāvali and Pūjāvali reckon the sum total at 844 years, 9 months 25 days, the Nikāyasamgraha reckons the time up to Mahāsena's accession at 818, and thus the time up to his death at 845 years.²

¹ The Dip. places Abhayanaḥa before Vohārikatisa. This appears to be the cause of the mistake in the figures. The same length of reign is ascribed to Vohārikatisa as to his predecessor, who is really his successor. According to Nik. samgr. 12^o Vohārikatisa ascended the throne 752 years, 4 months 10 days after the Buddha's death.

² Rājāvali, ed. B. GUNASEKARA, p. 42^o; Pūjāv., ed. *idem*, p. 23^o; Nik. S., ed. WICKREMASEKERA, p. 14^o.

From Devānampiyatissa to Mahāsena's death 609 years elapsed, according to the later sources.¹ But this only proves that the accession of the former should be dated 236 A.B. ($609 + 236 = 845$), but naturally nothing can be deduced from this statement to aid us in dating the Nirvāṇa itself.

I will now supplement my list with the names and dates of the immediate successors of Mahāsena:—²

62.	Siri-Meghavaṇṇa	27 years	352-379 A.D.
63.	Jetṭhutiṣṣa	9 "	379-388 "
64.	Boddhadāsa	28 "	388-416 "
65.	Upatiṣṣa	42 "	416-458 "
66.	Mahānirāsa	22 "	458-480 "
67-75.	{Sotthiṣṣa to Pīṭhiya}	29 "	480-509 "
76.	Dhātusiṇa	18 "	509-527 "
77.	Kassapa	17 "	527-544 "

For this later period we now have an interesting Indian-Ceylonese synchronism which appears to confirm the reckoning having as point of departure 483 A.C.

SYLVAIN LÉVI³ has communicated the following passage from the account of the Chinese Wang Hsien ts'c. The king of Cheu-tzeu (i.e. Ceylon), by name Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (i.e. Śrī-Meghavarman⁴), sent two bhikṣus to India to the monastery erected by Asoka near the sacred tree of the Buddha in Bodh Gayā. They found no lodging here and subsequently told their king. He sent an embassy to the king then ruling over India, San-meou-to-lo-kiu-to (i.e. Samudragupta), and sought permission to build on the sacred spot a monastery for Ceylonese pilgrims. Thus the synchronism of king Siri-Meghavaṇṇa, the successor of Mahāsena, with Samudragupta is confirmed. The latter, according to

¹ See *Epigr. Zeyl.* i, p. 143.

² Cf. *Calav.* 37, 99, 104, 178, 208, 247 (according to the numbering of the Colombo edition of 1877: Mah. 37, 49, 54, 128, 158, 197); 38, 1, 112; 39, 58. As to numbers 62, 64, 77, it is said that they died in the twenty-eighth (or twenty-ninth or eighteenth) year. So it is possible that the dates have again been made later by one year.

³ *Journ. As.* 1900, pp. 316 foll., 401 foll.

⁴ The form of this name, as given by the Chinese narrator, results from a confusion between varṇa and varman.

V. SMITH,¹ reigned from 326 to (about) 375, the former, according to our reckoning, from 483 as the year of the Nirvāṇa 352-379 A.D.

According to Chinese sources² another embassy came from Ceylon to China, sent by king Kia-che, i. e. Kāśyapa, in the year 527 A.D. Evidently this is a reference to Kassapa I whose reign, according to my list, did in fact begin about 527.

§ 9. The Indian Kings from Bimbisāra to Asoka.

In the table on the next page I have brought together the names of the kings from Bimbisāra, the contemporary of the Buddha, to Asoka, according to the Ceylonese, the Burmese, the Nepalese, and the Jaina tradition. On this I will first make the following observations.

THE BURMESE TRADITION³ is undoubtedly dependent on the CEYLONESE, as represented by Dīp. and Mah. Buddhaghosa⁴ is also in complete agreement with the Mah. He certainly ascribes a reign of eighteen instead of eight years to Anuruddha and Munḍa, but the sum total of the reigns of all the kings reckoned up by him at the conclusion is only correct if we alter that eighteen to eight.

THE NEPALESE list of the Aśokāvadāna⁵ comes perhaps midway between the Ceylonese and the Jaina tradition. It is specially remarkable that in this too appears the name of

¹ *Early History of India*, p. 268 foll. (cf. *Ind. Ant.* 1902, p. 257). See also FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 343.

² SYLVAIN LÉVI, *l. l.*, p. 42; foll. Cf. now also E. R. AYRTON, *J.R.A.S.* 1911, p. 1142, on a new fact which speaks in favour of the reckoning from 483 B.C. On the other hand a difficulty presents itself with respect to the embassy of Mo-ho-nan (i. e. Mahānāma) to China in the year 428 A.D. (SYLV. LÉVI, pp. 412, 421). At the time there reigned in Ceylon not Mahānāma but his elder brother Upatissa II. The former did not ascend the throne till 458 A.D.

³ See on this BIGANDET, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama the Buddha* (1866), pp. 347, 361-363, 371-372, 374-375.

⁴ *Snp.* 821² foll. Cf. also *Sum.* 153² foll., where the kings from Bimbisāra to Nāgadvāsa are enumerated.

⁵ Cf. BURNOURF, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, pp. 358-359. It is noteworthy that the name of Candragupta is missing.

TABLE OF INDIAN KINGS.

Dipavamsa	Years	Mahāvamsa	Years	Burmese trad.	Years	Asokavadāna	Years	Jaina trad.	Years	Purāṇas	Years
Bimbisāra (3. 56-59)	52	Bimbisāra (2. 29-30)	53	Bimbisāra		Bimbisāra		Śroṇika		Śiśunāga	40
Ajātasattu ¹ (3. 60-61)	52	Ajātasattu ¹ (2. 31-32)	32	Ajātasattu	35	Ajātasattu		Kūpika		Kakavarna	36
Udayabhadda (5. 97)	16	Udayabhadda (4. 1)	16	Udayabhadda	15	Udayabhadda		Udayin	60	Kṣemadharman	20
—	—	Anuruddha ¹ (4. 2-8)	8	Anuruddha ¹ Maṇḍa	9	Maṇḍa				Kaśtrakas Bimbisāra	40 28
Nagadatta (11. 11)	24	Nagadatta (4. 4)	24	Nagadatta	4					Ajātasattu	25
Susānaga (5. 98)	10	Susānaga (4. 6)	18	Susānaga	32					Darbhaka or Darśaka or Havesaka	25 33
Kālāsoka (4. 44; 5. 25, 80)	7	Kālāsoka (4. 7)	28	Kālāsoka	28	Kakavarman Sahālin Talakuci				Udayin Nandivardhana Mahānandita	42 43
Ten Sons of Kālāsoka (5. 99)	22	Ten Sons of Kālāsoka (5. 14)	32	Ithadāsena and 8 Brothers	32	Mahānandita Prasenajit Nanda		Nine Nandas		Mahāpadma and 8 Sons Candragupta	100 24
—	—	Nine Nandas (5. 15)	22	Uggasenanda and 8 Brothers	21 24			Candragupta		Bindusāra	25
Candagutta (5. 100)	24	Candagutta (5. 16-18)	24	Candagutta	24	Bindusāra		Bindusāra		Asoka	36
Bindusāra (5. 101)	7	Bindusāra (5. 18)	28	Bindusāra	27	Asoka		Asoka			
Asoka (5. 101)	37	Asoka (26. 1-6)	37	Asoka		Asoka					

¹ The Tibetan tradition appears to be very similar to the Ceylonese. According to it Ajātasattu reigned thirty-two years and Dharmasoka fifty-four years, from the first to the latter were ten generations of kings. *Beckenha., Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 233.

Munḍa whom the Jains do not know but who is mentioned in the *Anguttara-Nikāya*.¹ Thus the Ceylonese tradition is in this point confirmed by the Northern tradition.

The JAINA list is based on the *Parisiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra.² It is, I think, generally admitted³ that in this list Śreṇika and Kūṇika correspond to the Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu of the Pāli sources. On the other hand the names from Anuruddha-Munḍa downwards to the Nandas are missing. But among these names those of both Munḍa and Kālāsoka are well established by other testimony, as we shall see presently.

The PURĀṆIC list has the series Bimbisāra-Ajātasattu-Udayin (= Udayabhadda) in common with the Ceylonese. But the Purāṇas insert yet another king before the last-named, and the Ceylonese Chronicles place those three kings at the head of the whole list; the Purāṇas range the corresponding four kings in the second half of the list. Moreover, I cannot say that the Purāṇa list inspires me with much confidence. The tradition as to individual names is very unstable in the different Purāṇas. The same is the case with the dates of the individual reigns, although the totals agree fairly well.⁴

The question then arises: which list merits the most confidence, the Ceylonese, the Jaina, or that of the Purāṇas? JACOBI⁵ is disposed to give the preference to the Jaina list. He adheres to the view that Kālāsoka, 'the black Asoka,' and Kākavarṇin (Kākavarṇa), 'the crow-coloured,' are one and the same person. That is certainly correct and is confirmed by the fact that Kālāsoka in the Pāli sources is named

¹ A. III. 57th foll. OLDENBERG has already, *Z.D.M.G.* 34 (1880), p. 752, stated this fact.

² Ed. JACOBI (*Bibl. Ind.*), I. 22 foll.; VI. 22 foll., 231 foll.; VIII. 1 foll., 297 foll.; IX. 14 foll.

³ JACOBI, *The Kālpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu* (*Abhandl. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* vii. 1), Introduction, p. 2. The combination Śreṇika = Bimbisāra occurs ROCKHILL, *Life of Buddha* (1907), p. 67.

⁴ See MABEL DUFF, *The Chronology of India*, Table to p. 322.

⁵ *The Kālpasūtra*, Introd.; also *Z. D. M. G.* 34, pp. 185-186. Cf. OLDENBERG, *Z. D. M. G.* 34, p. 750 foll.; and further, JACOBI, *Z. D. M. G.* 35, p. 667 foll.

as the successor of Susunāga and Kākavarṇa in the Purāṇas as the successor of Śiśunāga.¹ Here at least the Southern and the Northern tradition are in agreement.

JACOBI moreover believes Kākavarṇin = Kālāsoka to be identical with the Udāyin of the Jaina tradition, the Udayabhadda² of the Southern Buddhist sources. The ground for his belief is that it is said of both Udāyin and Kālāsoka that they removed the royal residence from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. He believes that the Ceylonese tradition has made two kings out of one person, has inserted various new kings between them and has thus artificially filled up the gap of 100 years which, according to the Ceylonese view, had elapsed between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council. The list of kings as finally drawn up by JACOBI is this:—

Bimbisāra (Śreṇika).

Ajātasatru (Kūṇika).

Muṇḍa (= Darśaka, Harṣaka, &c.).

Udāyin (Kālāsoka, Kākavarṇin).

Nanda dynasty.

I confess that, in agreement with OLDENBERG,³ I do not feel convinced by JACOBI's grounds for identifying Kālāsoka with Udāyin. The removal of the residence from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra is attributed to Udāyin by the Jāinas,⁴ and by the Brahmins (in the Purāṇas), to Kālāsoka in the Burmese tradition⁵ which, beyond a doubt, comes from Ceylon. Hinsen-thsang attributes it to king Aśoka whose lifetime he places a hundred years after the Nirvāṇa. He does in fact know only ONE Aśoka whom he names Wu-yau, or, as rendered once phonetically, 'O-shu-kia.⁶ But to all appearance he combined

¹ The identification of Kālāsoka with Kākavarṇa has not been taken into account by V. A. SMITH (*J.R.A.S.* 1901, p. 839 foll.), who completely denies the existence of Kālāsoka.

² The name is written Udāyibhadda, Mah. 4. 1, 2 in the Sinhalese MSS. The same in D. I. 50th foll.

³ *Z.D.M.G.* 34, p. 751 foll.

⁴ *Parīśeṣaparvan*, VI. 33 foll., 175 foll.

⁵ See RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist Suttas* (S. B. E. xi), Introd., p. xliii.

⁶ BEAL, *Buddhist Records*, II, p. 85 foll.; ST. JULIEN, *Mémoires*, i, p. 414 foll.

two different kings in one person. For if he attributes the founding of Pāṭaliputra to an Aśoka, this cannot possibly fit in with the historical Dharmāśoka of the third century B.C. For we know that Pāṭaliputra was already, under Candragupta, the capital of the country. Thus when Hiuen-tsang says that 'O-shu-kiā' or Wu-yan founded the city of Pāṭaliputra he repeated a tradition which originally referred not to the Aśoka of the third century but to an earlier king, who must have lived before Candragupta.

I shall return once more to this subject. Here I will only observe that Hiuen-tsang, in any case with respect to the removal of the royal residence, is against the tradition of the Jainas and nearer to the Burmese. We can say then that the removal is attributed by the Jainas and Brahmans to Udayin, by the Buddhists to Kālāsoka.

Is really the only solution to conclude that the two names were one and the same person? May it not be conjectured with equal or yet more probability that we have here simply a difference in the tradition among the Jainas and Brahmans on the one hand and the Buddhists on the other? Besides even in the Brahmanic tradition Kākavarṇa = Kālāsoka and Udayin are again two different personages. Here then the same duplication must have occurred as in the Southern Buddhist tradition. It becomes therefore the more difficult to accept JACONI's hypothesis. It seems greatly preferable to conclude that the Jaina list is defective. In this list Muṇḍa too is missing, who seems to be sufficiently established by the Aśokavadāna and the mention in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya.

If finally the choice lies between the list of the Purāṇas and that of the Ceylonese Chronicles, which seems to be more probable and trustworthy, I do not hesitate to give the preference wholly and unreservedly to the latter.

In the Purāṇas, Nandivardhana and Mahānandin² must

¹ The former in BEAL, p. 90, the latter p. 85. Both names are thus used indifferently in connexion with the same event. This proves that we ought not to conclude, with OLDENBERG (*Vin. Pt. I, Introd.*, p. xxxiii, n. 1), that the two names represent a remembrance of two different Aśokas.

² It seems that Nandivardhana is to represent the ten sons of Kālā-

fill up some gap or other in the chronology. The reigns of these two together are put down at eighty-five years! But no deeds whatever are recorded.¹

Again, in the Purāṇas yet another king, called Darśaka, &c., is inserted between Ajātaśatru and Udayin. That is certainly an error. The Pāli canon indubitably asserts,² that Udayabhadda was the son of Ajātasattu and probably also his successor. Otherwise the reign of the father and son would extend over eighty-three years.

Moreover that the two generations of the Nanda, namely Mahāpadma and his eight sons, together reigned for a century is a statement that does not bear the stamp of probability.

The chief difference between the Purāṇas and the Ceylonese sources lies in the place taken by Kālāsoka (Kāka-varṇa) and his father. In the former they are placed at the head of the whole dynasty, in the latter they are ranged after Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu and their immediate successors. Thus, before all, the question is which of the two traditions we decide to accept and whether any reasons can be adduced for our decision.

Now we see that the tradition of Ceylon in its details always finds support from without. Its greater fullness of detail, generally speaking, as against the Jaina list finds a parallel in the Purāṇas.³ In this respect the Southern Buddhist and Brahmanic traditions support each other.

In all forms the tradition as to the series is well established: nine Nandas—Candragupta—Bindusāra—Aśoka. The succession Bimbisāra—Ajātasattu—Udayabhadda is confirmed by the Jaina list and the Aśokāvadāna. Muṇḍa, entirely absent from the Jaina list and the Purāṇas, is named in the

śoka. At least the *Mahābodhivāṇa* (ed. STRONG, p. 98) includes a prince of this name among them. Mahānandin looks like a duplicate of Nandivardhana.

¹ Even V. A. SMITH, *Early History of India*, p. 36, has to admit that they are mere 'nominis umbræ'.

² In the *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta*, D. I. 50th foll. The same according to the Tibetan tradition. ROCKHILL, *Life of Buddha* (1907), p. 91.

³ Also in Tibetan sources. See note to the Table.

Buddhist canon and in the *Aśokāvadāna*. And in the same way the *Aśokāvadāna* puts Kākavarṇin AFTER Udayin and Muṇḍa as the Ceylon Chronicles place their Kālāsoka, not BEFORE them as the *Purāṇas* place their Kākavarṇa.

Thus the greater probability seems to be in favour of placing Kākavarṇa and with him naturally his father Śaiśunāga in the second half of the series of kings, not in the first.

I believe then that with respect also to the series of Indian kings before Asoka, the Ceylonese tradition is more valuable than that of the Brahmans and Jainas. The last-named is certainly defective. But as to the *Purāṇas* I am compelled to think that when the dynasty before Candragupta had once received the name Śaiśunāga, then in order to exalt its greatness and antiquity, the eponymos and his immediate successors, including Bimbisāra and his successors, were placed at the head of the whole series of kings. This would end in a reversal in the order of the first and second half.

At the present time greater stress is laid, and with justice, on the importance of research in Northern Buddhism.¹ It is most important for the understanding of the development of Buddhism. Still I believe that if we wish to learn the origins of Buddhism, and especially the history of those origins, we shall have to draw chiefly upon the Pāli sources.

The dates of the Indian kings according to the Southern Buddhist tradition are the following:—

(1) Bimbisāra ²	B.E. 60—B.E. 8	B.C. 543—B.C. 491
2. Ajātasattu	" 8—A.E. 24	" 491—" 459
3. Udayabhadda	A.E. 24—A.E. 40	" 459—" 443
4. Anuruddha	" 40—" 48	" 443—" 435
5. Muṇḍa		
6. Nāgāsaka	" 48—" 72	" 435—" 411
7. Susunāga	" 72—" 90	" 411—" 393
8. Kālāsoka	" 90—" 118	" 393—" 365
9. Ten sons of Kālāsoka	" 118—" 140	" 365—" 343
11. Nine Nandas	" 140—" 162	" 343—" 321
12. Candragutta	" 162—" 186	" 321—" 297
13. Bindusāra	" 186—" 214	" 297—" 269
14. Asoka (a) before and	" 214—" 219	" 269—" 264
(b) after the abhiseka	" 219—" 256	" 264—" 227

¹ Cf. e.g. WALLISER, *Z.D.M.G.* 1910, p. 238, in a discussion of DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN'S *Bouddhisme*.

² As to the chronological relation between Bimbisāra and the

§ 10. The Ācariyaparamparā and Indian-Ceylonese synchronisms.

In the chronological system on which the Dīp. and Mah. are based the succession of the great teachers from Upāli down to Mahinda plays an important part. This ācariya-paramparā is of interest because in it there is a continuous synchronological connexion between the history of Ceylon and that of India. Here the system appears carried out in detail and completed.¹

Of course the dates must not be considered altogether authentic. Besides, for the most part they fall within the most uncertain period of Indian-Ceylonese history, before the accession of Devānampiyatissa. They only show how in Ceylon the several names and events of tradition were fitted into the framework of the few well-established leading dates.

It seems doubtful too that the theras mentioned, with the exception of Upāli and Moggaliputtatissa, were Vinaya-pāṃokkhā if indeed this should be taken to mean one having recognized authority in the Church.

Sopaka did not even take part in the Second Council which took place in his time. The leading personages in this were Revata, Sabbakāmī, Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi and Yasa. Evidently it was only a question of proving that the 'Succession of Teachers' of Mahinda could be traced back to Upāli, the great authority in the Vinaya at the time of the Buddha.

The list is as follows:—

Buddha more precise statements are furnished by Dīp. 3. 56 foll. and Mah. 2. 28 foll. According to these the two met for the first time when the Buddha was thirty-five and Bimbisāra thirty years of age, i.e. 528 B.C. This was the year 15 of Bimbisāra's reign. After that Bimbisāra reigned yet another thirty-seven years (till 491 B.C.). He was succeeded by Ajātasattu. Eight years after his accession the Buddha died.

¹ See NORMAN, *J.R.A.S.* 1908, pp. 5-6. The list of the patriarchs according to the Northern tradition is quite different. In this the succession is: (1) Kāśyapa, who presided over the First Council; (2) Ānanda; (3) Śāṇakavāsa; (4) Upagupta, the president of the Second Council; (5) Daitika or Dhītika; (6) Kāla, who was principally concerned in the conversion of Ceylon. See BEAL, 'Succession of Buddhist Patriarchs' (*Ind. Ant.* ix, 1880, p. 148 foll.).

1. UPĀLI.¹ (a) At the time of the Buddha's death (483 B.C.) he had completed forty-four years from his upasampadā. So we should have for this last the date 527 B.C. Buddha's death, according to tradition, coincides in time with the coming of Vijaya to Ceylon and with the 8th year of Ajātasattu. Vijaya dies in the 14th year of Udayabhadda, i.e. 446 B.C., in the 16th year of the same king, i.e. 444 B.C., Paṇḍuvāsudeva is crowned king in Ceylon.²

(b) Upāli after the Buddha's death becomes Chief of the Vinaya and remains so for thirty years. The sum total of his years, reckoned from the upasampadā, amounts to seventy-four. He dies therefore 453 B.C. after, as Dip. 4. 38 says, Udaya had reigned six years.

2. DĀSAKA.³ (a) He is ordained by Upāli, when the latter has completed sixty years of his priesthood, or sixteen years after the Buddha's death, i.e. 467 B.C. This agrees with the statement that it happened in the year 24 of Ajātasattu and in the year 16 of Vijaya. According to Mah. 5. 106 he was then twelve years old, thus the year of his birth was 479 B.C.

(b) Dāsaka is (after Upāli) for fifty years Chief of the Vinaya, i.e. he dies 403 B.C., or according to the Dip., in the year 8 of Susunāga. In Ceylon meanwhile (Dip. 11. 10) Paṇḍuvāsudeva has died in the year 21 of Nāgadāsaka, i.e. 414 B.C., and Abhaya has been crowned king.

3. SONAKA.⁴ (a) He is ordained a priest by Dāsaka when the latter has completed forty-five years from his upasampadā, therefore 422 B.C. Thus according to Dip. 4. 41. But according to Dip. 5. 78 Dāsaka had only been forty years a priest when Sonaka was ordained by him. This brings us to 427 B.C. Here therefore the tradition is uncertain. It also points to the year 10 of Nāgadāsa or the year 20 of Paṇḍuvāsudeva as the year of Sonaka's ordination, i.e. 425 or 424 B.C.

¹ Dip. 4. 34, 38; 5. 76, 95, 103.

² Dip. 11. 8. The number of years of Vijaya's reign (38) brings us to 445 as the year of his death. The length of the interregnum is given Dip. 11. 9, Mah. 8. 5, as one year.

³ Dip. 4. 27-28, 43; 5. 91, 95, 96, 98, 104.

⁴ Dip. 4. 41; 5. 78, 79, 92, 95, 96, 99, 105.

(b) *Sonaka* is Chief of the *Vinaya* for forty-four years and a priest for sixty-six years. Since *Dāsaka* died 403 B.C. *Sonaka*'s death would fall in 359 B.C. This would bring us again to 425 as the year of ordination. The statement that *Sonaka* died in the year 6 of the reign of *Asoka*'s sons points also to 359 B.C. as the year of his death. The most probable date of *Sonaka*'s ordination is, however, 423 or 422 B.C., as we shall see from *Siggava*'s chronology. According to *Mah.* 5. 115 *Sonaka* was fifteen years old when he met *Dāsaka*. He was therefore born in 438 or 437 B.C. In Ceylon¹ the year 11 of the interregnum between *Abhaya* and *Pandukābhaya* corresponds to the year 10 of *Kālāsoka* (= 383 B.C.) and the year 58 of *Pandukābhaya* to the year 2 of *Candagutta* (= 319 B.C.).

4. *SIGGAVA*.² (a) *Sonaka* confers ordination on *Siggava* forty years after his own *upasampadā*. At that time *Kālāsoka* had reigned ten years and half a month. In Ceylon eleven and a half years of the interregnum after *Abhaya* had elapsed. Thus we come to the year 383 (or 382) B.C. and to the year 423 (or 422) as the year of *Sonaka*'s *upasampadā*.

(b) *Siggava* is a priest for seventy-six years and dies in the year 14 of *Candagutta*. This coincides with the year 307 B.C. There must be an error in the statement that he was head of the Church for fifty-five years. Since *Sonaka*'s death may be reckoned with all probability as occurring in the year 359, *Siggava*, if he died in 307, can only have held this office fifty-two years.

The year of *Siggava*'s birth, since he was eighteen years old at the time of his meeting with *Sonaka* (*Mah.* 5. 120), falls in the year 401 B.C.

5. (c) *MOGGALIPUTTATISSA*.³ He is ordained by *Siggava* sixty-four years after the latter's *upasampadā*, in the year 2

¹ *Dīp.* 5. 69, 81; 5. 80.

² *Dīp.* 4. 44-46 (cf. with this the note in *OLDENBERG*'s edition); 5. 73, 95, 96, 106.

³ *Dīp.* 5. 69, 81, 95, 96, 101, 107. Relics of (*Moggaliputta*)*tissa*, attested by an inscription, have been found in the Sānchi-tōpe no. 2. See *CUNNINGHAM, Relics Topes*, p. 289.

of Candagutta and 58 of Pakuṇḍaka (i.e. Paṇḍukābhaya), therefore 319 B.C.

(b) He is Chief of the Vinaya for sixty-eight years after Siggava and dies eighty years after ordination, twenty-six years after Asoka's abhiseka (= 264 B.C.). The first two statements accord with 239 B.C., the last with 238 B.C. However, if we place the consecration of Asoka as early as the year 265, which results (see above, p. xxxii) from dating the Buddha's death on the full-moon day of Vesākha, then even according to this reckoning Moggaliputta's death should be placed at 239 B.C.

6. MAHINDA.¹ (a) Moggaliputta ordains Mahinda in the year 6 of Asoka, (reckoned from the abhiseka) or the year 48 of Muṭasiva. This brings us, in both cases, if we take the spring of 265 as that of Asoka's abhiseka, to the time between the spring of 259 and 258. Mahinda was born² 204 A.B. i.e. 279 B.C., thus he was ordained at the age of twenty.

Mahinda comes to Ceylon twelve and a half years after his ordination and eighteen years after Asoka's abhiseka,³ as we have already seen, in the spring 246 B.C.

(b) He dies in the year 8 of Uttiya's reign and on the 8th day of the bright half of the month Assayaṇa.⁴ The year of his death is therefore 199 B.C.

I. ĀCARIYAPARAMPARĀ

	Priest	Chief of Vinaya
1. Upāli . . .	44 B.E.—30 A.B. = 527 B.C.—453 B.C.	from 1 A.B.
2. Dānaka . . .	30 A.B.—94 „ = 467 „ —403 „	„ 30 „
3. Soṇaka . . .	60 „ —124 „ = 423 „ —359 „	„ 94 „
4. Siggava . . .	100 „ —176 „ = 383 „ —307 „	„ 124 „
5. Moggaliputta	164 „ —244 „ = 319 „ —239 „	„ 176 „
6. Mahinda . .	224 „ —284 „ = 259 „ —199 „	

¹ Dip. 5. 82. The time between the ordination of Moggaliputta and that of Mahinda is here stated to be sixty-six years. It would be correct to say sixty, as OLDEYNE has already observed.

² Dip. 6. 20 foll.; 7. 21-22; Mah. 5. 209.

³ Dip. 12. 42; Mah. 13. 1, 5.

⁴ Dip. 17. 93, 95; Mah. 20. 32-33.

II. CEYLONESE AND INDIAN SYNCHRONISMS.

Year of Ceylon King		Year of Indian King	Year of Christian Era
Vijaya	1 =	Ajātasattu	8 483 B.C.
"	16 =	"	24 467 "
"	37 =	Udayabhadda	14 446 "
Paṇḍuvasudeva	1 =	"	16 444 "
"	20 =	Nāgudāsaka	10 425/4 "
Abhaya	1 =	"	21 414 "
Interregnum	11 =	Kālāsoka	10 383 "
Paṇḍukābhaya	58 =	Candagutta	2 319 "
Mutasiva	1 =	"	14 307 "
"	48 =	Asoka	6 259 "

§ 11. The Buddhist Councils.

According to the Southern Buddhist tradition three Councils, as is known, took place, the first immediately after the death of the Buddha, the second a hundred years later under Kālāsoka, the third 236 years after the Nirvāṇa in the reign of Dhammāsoka.

There has been repeated discussion, especially in recent times, as to the authenticity or non-authenticity of the history of the Councils.¹ I am not able, within the limits of this introduction, to go into all the details. I will rather restrict myself, in the first place, to a résumé of that which is recorded in the Pāli sources as to the Councils. By way of comparison I will then indicate the most important statements of the Northern Buddhist tradition. Finally, I will endeavour to extract the historical kernel which, in my opinion, is contained in the Ceylonese tradition concerning those events.

¹ I would refer chiefly to MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, p. 13 foll.; OLDENBERG, 'Buddhistische Studien,' *Z.D.M.G.* 52, p. 613 foll.; KEHN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 101 foll.; V. A. SMITH *J.R.A.S.* 1901, p. 842 foll.; L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, 'Les premiers Conciles (bouddhiques),' *Le Muséon*, N.S. 6. 1905, p. 213 foll. (cf. 'The Buddhist Councils,' *Ind. Ant.* 1908, pp. 1 foll., 81 foll.); R. O. FRANKE, 'The Buddhist Councils at Rājagaha and Vesālī,' *J.P.T.S.* 1908, p. 1 foll.; RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. 76, 77. The Chinese accounts of the First Council have been brought together by SUZUKI, 'The first Buddhist Council,' in *the Monist*, xiv. 2. 1904, p. 253 foll.

I can only incidentally, where it appears to me to be absolutely necessary, take up a position with regard to views of other inquirers, and must avoid many explanations which suggest themselves, in order not to overstep the space allotted to me.

First, with regard to the SOUTHERN BUDDHIST SOURCES for the history of the Councils, the principal, both in age and importance, are Khandhaka XI and XII of the Cullavagga in the Vinaya-Piṭaka¹ which deal with the First and Second Council.

Then follow the Dīp. and Mah. with accounts of the three Councils² and also the historical Introduction to Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā.³ Moreover, Buddhaghosa treats of the First Council, frequently with the same wording, in the Introduction to his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.⁴ As secondary sources we may mention the Mahābodhivaṃsa⁵ and Sāsanaṃvaṃsa,⁶ and also in the Sinhalese language principally the Nikāya-Saṃgraha.⁷

The NORTHERN BUDDHIST ACCOUNTS will be mentioned in treating of the several Councils.

The First Council.

The account in C.V. is this :

Mahākassapa, travelling with his disciples from Pāvā to Kusinārā, hears of the death of the Buddha. The monks are profoundly grieved, but Subhadda comforts them with the frivolous utterance that they can now do what they will, and that they are freed from an irksome control.

Thereupon Mahākassapa proposes to undertake a saṃgīti of the Dhamma and the Vinaya, that the doctrine may thus

¹ OLDENBERG, *Vin. Piṭ.* ii, p. 284 foll. Cf. *S.B.E.* xi, p. 370 foll.

² GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.* p. 108 foll. In the Dīp. there is a double account of each Council.

³ See OLDENBERG, *Vin. Piṭ.* iii, p. 283 foll.

⁴ Ed. RHYS DAVIDS and CARPENTER, i. (*P.T.S.* 1886), p. 2 foll.

⁵ Ed. STRONG (*P.T.S.* 1891), p. 85 foll.

⁶ Ed. M. BODE (*P.T.S.* 1897), p. 3 foll.

⁷ Ed. WICKREMASINGHE, 1890, pp. 3, 4, 8.

be kept pure. To this end 500 monks are chosen, among whom, by the wish of the assembly, is Ānanda, though he is not yet an Arahant.

The Council takes place in Rājagaha and passes off in the manner described in the Mah.

Some points are to be added from the C.V. namely:

(1) Ānanda relates that the Buddha had, in his presence, declared the community of monks empowered after his death to do away with the less important precepts,¹ if they wished. Since they are not able to agree in deciding what is to be understood by this expression, they resolve not to do away with any precept.

(2) Certain reproaches are cast upon Ānanda. Although he is not conscious of any fault he acknowledges himself guilty from respect for the Assembly.

(3) The *thera* Purāṇa enters Rājagaha. He is called upon to take part in the work of the Assembly. He renders due acknowledgment to this work but prefers to hold by that which he himself has heard from the Master's lips.

(4) Ānanda further relates how the Buddha, before his death, had also pronounced the monk Channa liable to the brahmadanda penance. The fulfilling of this duty is entrusted to Ānanda. Channa is deeply troubled. With zealous endeavour he attains to arahantship, upon which the penance is remitted.²

As regards the time at which the First Council was held, the Dip. I. 24; 5, 4 mentions the fourth month after the Master's death. This was the second Vassa-month, i.e. Sāvāṇa, the fifth month of the year.³

This reckoning is based on the tradition according to which the Buddha died on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha.

Buddhaghosa and the Mah. agree with this statement.⁴ The latter certainly mentions the bright half of Āsāḍha the

¹ Khuddāśākhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni. See Mahāparinibhāṣasutta, D. II. 154.

² I omit the episode of Udena, C.V. XI. 13-14.

³ See M.V. III. 2. 2 (OLDENBERG, *Vin. Pt. I*, p. 137).

⁴ Smp. 285²²⁻²³, 286²⁴; Sum. 6¹²⁻¹³, 5¹⁴⁻¹⁵; Mah. 3. 14-16.

fourth month of the year¹ as the beginning of the Council, but adds that the first month was spent in preparations, thus the proceeding did not begin till the month Savaṇṇa.

It is an obviously later addition which we find in the Sum., that not only the Vinaya and the Dhamma, in all their details, but also the Abhidhamma are established at the First Council.

The same is found in the later tradition.

Among the NORTHERN BUDDHIST SOURCES dealing with the First Council I mention the Mahāvastu.² Here, in agreement with the Southern tradition Kāśyapa is given as the originator of the Council, the number of the bhikṣus taking part in it is stated to be 500 and the place the Saptaparyā grotto near Rājagṛha.

There is, besides, an account in the second volume of the Dulva, the Tibetan Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin sect.³ The fixing of the Canon took place, according to this source, in the following order: (1) Dharma, by Ānanda; (2) Vinaya, by Upāli; (3) Mātṛkā (i.e. Abhidharma) by Mahākāśyapa himself. It is worthy of remark that the Dulva puts the accusations brought against Ānanda in the time before the beginning of the proceedings, thus before his attainment of arahantship.

Fā-hian and Hiuen-tsang⁴ also mention the First Council. The former gives the number of the bhikṣus as 500, the latter as 1,000; the former speaks in a general way of 'a collection of sacred books', the latter expressly mentions also the redaction of the Abhidharma by Mahākāśyapa.

The Second Council.

According to C.V. XII the Second Council takes place 100 years after the Buddha's death, and is brought about by the *dasa vaṭṭhūni*⁵ of the Vajji monks of Vesālī, which

¹ The full moon of Āsāḍha of the year 483 fell, according to JACOB'S reckoning (see FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 20) on June 24.

² Ed. SENART, i, p. 69 foll.

³ See ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 148 foll.

⁴ BEAL, *Buddhist Records*, i, pp. 1x-1xi; ii, pp. 162-164; LEGGE, *Records of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 85.

⁵ On these ten points, according to the Pāli-tradition, see below in

signified a relaxing of monastic discipline. In the further course of its narrative, too, the C.V. agrees with the Mah. and the rest of the SOUTHERN BUDDHIST SOURCES. The contrast comes out distinctly between the city-dwelling monks of Vesālī and the Arhants living in solitary retreat (*ārañhaka*, Vin. II. 299³) and of strict tendencies.

Yasa's speech in presence of the Vesālīan *upāsakas* is given in full extent. The disciple of Revata, whom the Vajji monks bring over to their side (Mah. 4. 30) is called Uttara. It is also characteristic that the orthodox monks before they undertake the refutation of the heresies first assure themselves of the consent of Sabbakāmi, the Saṃghathera at that time.¹

The number of those taking part in the Council is given unanimously as 700.² The Dīp. and the Mah. set the time of the Council in the eleventh year of the reign of Kālāsoka (= 383-382 B.C.), later documents put it in the tenth year.³ The locality is generally considered to be the Vālikārāma.⁴ Only the Dīp. (5. 29) mentions the Kūṭāgārasālā of the Mahāvana monastery, I do not think we need attach any importance to this discrepancy, which probably takes its rise in some misunderstanding.

Still it is of importance that the Dīp. 5. 30 foll. states, to complete the narrative, that the heretical monks held a separate Council, called Mahāsaṃgīti, and that they here

the Translation, note to 4. 9. See for further observations L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Le Muséon*, N.S. vi (1905), p. 276 foll.; *Ind. Ant.* 37 (1908), p. 88 foll.

¹ C.V. XII. 2. 4-6 = Vin. II, p. 303¹³ foll.

² C.V. XII. 2. 9 (= Vin. II. 307¹³); Dīp. 4. 52; Mah. 4. 62; Smp. 294¹. But when the Dīp. 5. 20 speaks of 1,200,000 who took part in the Council it does not contradict itself in this. By this naturally exaggerated number the Dīp. means those who took part in the General Assembly. Mah. 4. 60 and Smp. 294¹ give for this the same number.

³ Dīp. 4. 44, 47; Mah. 4. 8. Cf. Mahābodhiv. 96¹; Sāsanav. 7¹; Nik. Saṃgr. 4¹¹.

⁴ Mah. 4. 50, 63; Smp. 94¹²; Mahābodhiv. 96¹²; Sāsanav. 6¹²; Nik. Saṃgr. 6¹.

made out a different redaction of the Canonical Scriptures. With this may be compared the brief notice in Mah. 5. 3-4, according to which the heretical monks of the Second Council, under the name Mahāsamghika, formed a separate sect, as the first branching-off from the orthodox doctrine.

In the NORTHERN TRADITION we have accounts of the second Council in the Duva,¹ from the Tibetan historian Tāranātha², from Fā-hian and Hiuen-tsang.³

As according to the Southern sources so according to these accounts the ten points of the Vajji monks form the starting-point of the movement.

As to the date there is great uncertainty. In the same way, with respect to the place, the tradition wavers between Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra.⁴ Of the famous theas of the Second Council mentioned in the Southern scriptures we meet the following in the Northern:—Sarakāma = Sabbakāma, Yaśa = Yasa, Sālha = Sālha, Saṃbhūta = Saṃbhūta Sāpavāsi, Revata = Revata, Kuyyasobhita (?) = Khujjasobhita and Ajita = Ajita.

The Third Council.

With respect to the Third Council we must, in the first place, depend on SOUTHERN BUDDHIST SOURCES since it has up to this time been accepted that the Northern Buddhist took no account of this Assembly of the Church. Our oldest source is the Dīp. 7. 34-43, 44-59; then comes Smp. 306⁵⁷ foll., then Mah. 5. 228 foll. Respecting the course of events we may refer to the translation following below, since no essential differences exist.

The president of the Council was Tissa Moggaliputta, the place Pāṭaliputta, also called Kusumapura 'the city of flowers'. As date, the year 236 A. B. = 247 B. C. is given, Dīp. 7. 37, 44.⁵

¹ See ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 171-180.

² Tāranātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, übersetzt von SCHIEFNER, p. 41 foll. Cf. WASSILJEV, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 61 foll.

³ BEAL, *I. I.*, i, p. liv; II, pp. 74-75; LEGGE, *I. I.*, p. 75.

⁴ On these wavering traditions see below.

⁵ Cf. Sāmanav. i, p. 8⁵; Nik. Samgr. 9¹. When Dīp. I. 24, 25 says

The Mah. 5. 280 says that the Council was concluded in the seventeenth year of the reign of Asoka. It lasted, according to both chronicles, nine months. Thus, according to PLANT'S¹ reckoning, the Council began in the middle of January 247 B.C. and came to an end at the end of October in the same year.

Now with respect to the trustworthiness of the Southern Buddhist accounts of the Councils I have arrived at the following conclusion. Here, as elsewhere, a genuine historical reminiscence underlies the tradition. This holds good of all three Councils. (A general framework of facts is given with some few data deeply engraved in memory. But within this framework, even in the oldest form of the tradition, all kinds of details were introduced which correspond to the opinions and circumstances of later times. We must keep to the most general statements if we would come near the historical truth. Everything special and particular should be looked upon with a certain scepticism.

For the FIRST COUNCIL we need not hesitate to extract as the historical kernel of the tradition, the fact that, after the Buddha's death, his nearest disciples assembled in the capital of the country to establish the most important rules of the Order as, according to their recollection, the Master himself had laid them down. This may then have formed the groundwork of the later Vinaya.) That the Buddhist canon was established then and there in the form in which we now have it, a form that can only be the fruit of centuries of development,² is naturally out of the question. We see indeed how that the First Council took place four months after the Nirvāṇa and the Third Council 118 years later there is here a manifest error, for which the clumsiness of the author of the Dip. is responsible. The date 118 is evidently reckoned from the Second Council, mention of which has dropped out, and it refers, as in Mah. 5. 100, not to the beginning of the Third Council, but to the birth of Moggalliputta Tissa. See Dip. 5. 55.

¹ J.R.A.S. 1910, p. 426.

² See RHYSDAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i. x-xx: *Buddhist India*, p. 161 foll.; OLDSBERG, *Vin. Fit.* i, p. x foll.

the tradition itself adds new details. Speaking at first only of Vinaya and Dhamma it then, in a later form, makes the Abhidhamma also take its rise in the First Council.

In my interpretation I attach special importance to the episode of Purāṇa (see p. liii). It gives the impression of a genuine historical reminiscence, the more so since it is just of such a nature as to diminish the authority of the theras of the First Council. There was therefore certainly no reason to invent this story. As a statement of fact, however, it has no meaning unless there had really been beforehand some proposal to establish the teachings of the Buddha.

Certainly not very much more than this can be proved to be historical in the account of the First Council. The narrator in the C.V. adheres in his narrative to the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (D. Sutta XVI = D. II, p. 72 foll.). This has been convincingly demonstrated by OLDENBERG¹ and in greater detail by FRANKL². I should not therefore like to attach most importance, as does L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN,³ precisely to the episode of Ānanda's failings and the punishment of Channa. They may very well have been incorporated in the account only because they exist in the Sutta D. XVI.⁴ It is not even certain whether it was just the frivolous words of Subhadda that brought about the holding of the Council, here too it may be that the narrator has only followed the Sutta in making this fact a motive for the Council.

In that case OLDENBERG's⁵ objection to the historical character

¹ *Vin. Pit.* i, p. xxvi foll.

² *J.P.T.S.* 1908, p. 8 foll.

³ *Ind. Ant.* 1908, pp. 15-16, 18.

⁴ FRANKL, *l.c.*, p. 18, foll., observes very aptly that in C.V. XI and XII the precept of D. XVI. 6. 2 (= D. II, p. 154) concerning the use of bhante and āvuso, has been strictly retained. Here, again, the narrator's dependence, as to form, on the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta is evident. Because he found the precept in the sutta, he retains it in his account. But when FRANKL then goes so far as to argue that the accounts of the Council in C.V. were only invented to illustrate that question of etiquette, that they were therefore 'more or less readings in "good form" for bhikkhus in all events and circumstances', there are assuredly few who will follow him. I am quite unable to do so.

⁵ *L.c.* Cf. also RHYSDAVIDS, *Buddhist Suttas* (S.B.E. xi), General

of the First Council disappears. He is of opinion that, since Subhadda's words are mentioned, in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, there must also have been some allusion to the Council if it really was brought about by those words. According to my view the Council—or whatever this assembly of monks in Rājagaha may be called—is the established fact (see above). If the introduction of the narrative in the C.V. really should not be in agreement with the Sutta D. XVI, which I will only assume but without yielding the point, then the fact of the Council itself is not put aside. In that case the narrator, looking for a motive or means of introducing the Council, found it in that passage of the Sutta, a connexion which did not correspond to the reality.¹

The SECOND and THIRD COUNCIL must be discussed together.

It is historically confirmed, I think, that the first schism in the Church proceeded from Vesālī and that the *dasa vatthūni* of the Vajji-monks brought it about. But it is doubtful when this separation resulted, where it took place, and whether after this Second Council yet a third took place and at what time.

(According to the Southern Buddhist tradition, as we saw, the Second Council was held in Vesālī itself under king Kālāsoka in the year 383/2 B.C., the third under Dhammāsoka in Pāṭaliputta in the year 247 B.C. The first led to the separation of the Mahāsaṃghikas from the Theravāda. The second led to the expulsion from the community of certain elements wrongfully intruded there.)

My opinion now is that this distinction between two separate Councils is in fact correct. (The Northern Buddhists have mistakenly fused the two into one as they confounded the kings Kālāsoka and Dhammāsoka one with another. But traces of the right tradition are still preserved

Introduction, p. xi foll. JACONI, *Z.D.M.G.* 24, p. 185, is, however, not inclined to give such great weight to the *argumentum e silentio*.

¹ RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, ii. 76, 77, has discussed the value of the evidence as to the First Council, and arrived at a somewhat similar conclusion.

in the wavering uncertain statements as to the time and place of the Council.)

According to the Tibetan tradition in the *Dulva*¹ the first schism occurred 160 years after the death of the Buddha, when king Dharmāsoka reigned in Kusumapura. But the same source (ROCKHILL, p. 186) also records an assembly which took place in Pāṭaliputra 137 years after the Nirvāṇa, under Mahāpadma and Nanda.

In Chinese sources² we find the same uncertainty. The Council that led to the first schism is in these placed now 100, now 116, now 160 years after the Buddha's death.

As the place of the Council Fā-hian and Hiuen-thsang³ mention Vaiśālī. But according to the *Dulva* (R., p. 182) the schism arose in Kusumapura (i.e. Pāṭaliputra). Tāranātha (p. 41) speaks of the ten points taught by the heretical monks of Vaiśālī and which gave occasion for a Council that took place in Kusumapura. The Chinese sources too (see St. J., I. I.) mention Pāṭaliputra.

Evidently, as has been said, the failure to distinguish between the two Aśokas was the cause of the whole confusion. This is plain from the fact that with respect to this king's date we find the same contradictions in the Northern sources. Hiuen-thsang knows only one Aśoka, Dharmāsoka, the historical king of the third century B.C. But he puts him 100 years after the Nirvāṇa, that is, he gives him the period of the earlier Aśoka. For hardly any scholar will admit now, I believe, that Buddha died in the fourth century B.C.; moreover, Hiuen-thsang, as we saw (see above, p. xlv), names also Dharmāsoka as the founder of Pāṭaliputra, although we know beyond dispute that Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the country before his time. He has thus transferred to Dharmāsoka, the son of Candragupta, a tradition which related to an earlier king.

¹ According to Bhavya, in ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 182.

² ST. JULIES, *Journ. As.*, V, Série, t. xiv, pp. 343, 333, 336. Cf. below, Appendix B.

³ See above, p. lvi, n. 3. Fā-hian, however, does not express himself so definitely as Hiuen-thsang.

In the Tibetan sources Aśoka is generally dated 100–160 years after the Nirvāṇa. But there is beside this an allusion which, in agreement with the Southern tradition, places him 234 years after the Buddha.¹

Tāranātha says² that in the Tibetan Vinaya the date 110 A.D. is given for Aśoka, but that in the other sources the dates are 210 and 220.

Lastly, in the Chinese Tripiṭaka there are, according to TAKAKUSE, four dates for Aśoka: 116 A.D., 118 A.D., 130 A.D., and 218 A.D. The last-mentioned date, however, is found apparently only in the Chinese Sudarśana-vibhāṣā Vinaya, which is a translation of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā.³

But there is something more. The Northern writings are very familiar with the ten points raised by the monks of Vaiśālī and the schism produced by them. But they also know of another division⁴ associated with the names of the monks Mahādeva and Bhadra. These latter set up five dogmas which were also expressed in brief aphorisms and which led to a schism. In Vasumitra's account⁵ the confusion is complete when he relates that somewhat more than 100 years after the Nirvāṇa, under king Aśoka in Pāṭaliputra the schism of the Mahāsamghikas resulted from the five dogmas, which are then described. Here then, finally, the five dogmas of Mahādeva are confounded with the ten points of the Vajji-monks.

(It is perhaps not too daring to conjecture that in this division associated with the name of Mahādeva there is a reminiscence of the proceedings that brought about the Third Council. But this conjecture is now also confirmed by an acute observation of L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. He

¹ See ROCKHILL, *l. l.*, p. 233.

² Transl. by Schiefner, p. 42.

³ *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* by I-TSENG, transl. by TAKAKUSE, p. 14, n. 1, p. 217.

⁴ See esp. Tāranātha, p. 51; Bhavya in ROCKHILL, *l. l.*, p. 185; WASSILJEV, *Der Buddhismus*, i, pp. 62–63.

⁵ See ROCKHILL, *l. l.*, p. 187, n. 1.

establishes the fact,¹ that the five dogmas of Mahādeva belong to those which are combated in the Kathāvatthu. But the Kathāvatthu was composed (see Mah. 5. 278) by Moggaliputta Tissa on the occasion of the Council of Pāṭaliputta.)

Thus a new link has been found between the Northern and Southern tradition of the Third Council.² I adhere, therefore, to the assumption that a second Council took place under Kāśāpaka and a third under Dhammāśoka.

(The course of events at the Second Council may, taken as a whole, be as the Southern and Northern sources relate. The '10 points' are historical, and we must also regard as historical the names of the theras concerned in refuting them.³ Moreover, the division of the community, till then united, into two schools is, as I believe, a fact. But we must not exaggerate our notion of the harshness of this separation.)

With the toleration peculiar to the Indians the different sects have always mutually recognized each other and kept up relations with each other. I may refer to the beautiful utterance attributed by Vasumitra to the Buddha concerning the

¹ Buddhist notes. The five Points of Mahādeva and the Kathāvatthu, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 413 foll.

² V. A. SMITH, *J.R.A.S.* 1901, p. 827 foll. and particularly p. 839 foll., argues thus: As there are two different traditions concerning the time of the Second Council the Southern tradition has invented a second Aśoka in addition to the historical one, and out of one Council has made two. It will be seen that my argument follows the exactly opposite course: as there were two Aśokas the Northern tradition has confounded the two Councils which took place in their time. SMITH's argument has the defect of not explaining how the different tradition regarding the Second Council arose.

³ That an extraordinarily great age is attributed of certain theras need hardly be brought forward as testimony against the general trustworthiness of the account (KEAN, *Manual*, p. 165). These are the embellishments by which it was intended to exalt the authority of the theras. In like manner an age of 150 years is attributed to the first Patriarch of the Dharm Sect in China, Bodhidharma. (SUZUKI, *J.P.T.S.* 1906-7, pp. 11, 13.) Besides, the Yasa of the Second Council was certainly not the Yasa who in M.V. I. 7 foll. appears as a contemporary of the Buddha. He is distinguished from this latter by the epithet *Kākaṇḍakatrājo*.

twelve future schools: 'These schools will be the repositories of the diversified fruits of my scriptures without priority or inferiority—just as the taste of sea-water is everywhere the same—or as the twelve sons of one man all honest and true, so will be the exposition of my doctrine advocated by these schools.'¹

We may conjecture that the Second Council contributed to the completion of the Vinaya and the Dhamma, though C.V. XII does not expressly speak of it. That may have been taken as a matter of course. Besides, in the concluding words (C.V. XII. 2. 9) the second Council, like the first, is designated *Vinayasamgīti*.

At the time of the Third Council the canonical literature of the Dhamma and Vinaya, as we now have it in the Pāli recension, was evidently completed in essentials. This is proved by mention of portions of the canon in the inscription of Bairāt. Here Aśoka recommends seven scriptures for particular study. Of these scriptures six can be pointed out with more or less certainty in the Pāli canon.²

And now, besides, the literary movement is proceeding which leads to the compilation of the Abhidhamma. We see this from the allusion, already mentioned above, in Mah. 5. 278, according to which Moggaliputta Tissa in order to refute the errors which brought about the Third Council, composed his *Kathāvatthupparāṇa*. But this work belongs to the Abhidhamma.

The importance of the Councils, from the standpoint of the orthodox, lay in the elimination of tendencies which could no longer be regarded as consistent with the faith. But of higher importance was the resolve formed in Pāṭaliputra to bear Buddhism beyond the borders of its narrower home. With this Buddhism entered on its victorious progress through the Eastern World.

¹ See BEAL, *Ind. Ant.* ix. 1880, p. 300.

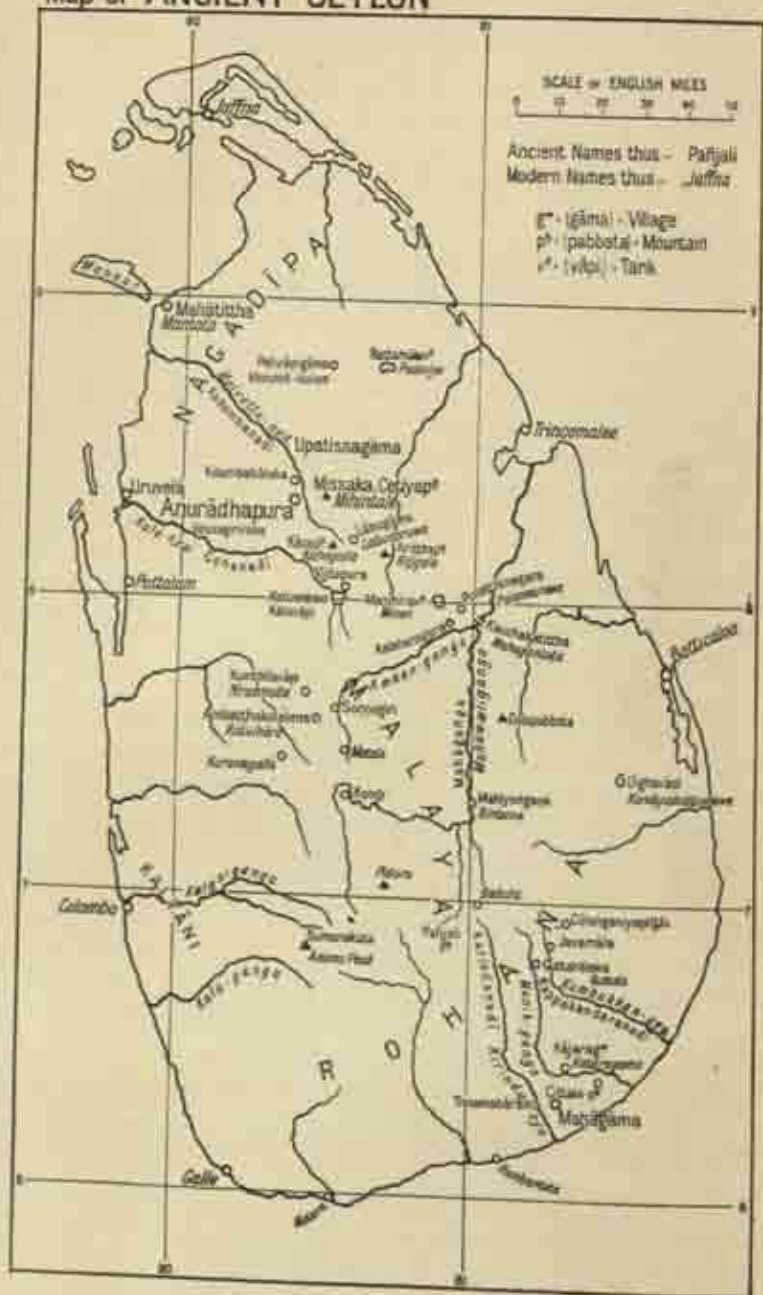
² OLDENBERG, *Vin. Pī.* i, p. xi; *Z.D.M.G.* 52, p. 634 foll., against MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, pp. 83-92; RHYE DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, p. xiii.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A. = *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (ed. MORRIS and HARDY, 5 vols., Pali Text Soc. 1835-1900). Vol. vi. Indexes by Miss HUNT, 1910.
- Asl. = *Atthasālinī* (ed. F. MÜLLER, P.T.S., 1897).
- B.R. = *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch von BÖHTLINGER und ROTH*, 7 vols., St. Petersburg, 1855-1875.
- C.V. = *Collavagga* (the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. OLDENBERG, vol. ii, 1880).
- D. = *Dīgha-Nikāya* (ed. RHYS DAVIDS and CARPENTER, 3 vols., P.T.S. 1890-1911).
- Dip. = *Dīpavaṃsa* (ed. and transl. OLDENBERG, 1879).
- I.A. = *Indian Antiquary*.
- J.A. = *Journal Asiatique*.
- Jāt. = *Jātaka* (ed. FAUSBÖLL, 7 vols., 1877-1897).
- J.P.T.S. = *Journal of the Pali Text Society*.
- J.R.A.S. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- Kamb. Mah. = *Kambodja Mahāvamsa* (s. HARDY, J.P.T.S. 1902-3, p. 61 foll.).
- M. = *Majjhima-Nikāya* (ed. TREYCKNER and CHALMERS, 3 vols., P.T.S. 1888-1899).
- Mah. ed. = *Mahāvamsa* (ed. W. GEIGER, P.T.S. 1908).
- M.Bv. = *Mahābodhivamsa* (ed. STRONG, P.T.S. 1901).
- M.V. = *Mahāvagga* (The *Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. OLDENBERG, vol. i, 1879).
- P.D. = *Dictionary of the Pali Language*, by CHILDERS, 1875.
- Vin. Pi. = *The Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. OLDENBERG, 5 vols., 1879-1883.
- S. = *Samyutta Nikāya* (ed. FEER, 5 vols., P.T.S. 1884-1898; vol. 6; Indexes by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, 1904).
- S.B.B. = *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*.
- S.B.E. = *Sacred Books of the East*.
- Sup. = *Samanta-Piṣādikā* (Intro. to S. in Vin. Pi. ii, p. 283 foll.).
- Sum. = *Sumaṅgalavāṇī* (ed. RHYS DAVIDS and CARPENTER, vol. i, P.T.S. 1886).
- Z.D.M.G. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.



Map of ANCIENT CEYLON



THE MAHĀVAṂSA

CHAPTER I

THE VISIT OF THE TATHĀGATA

HAVING made obeisance to the Sambuddha the pure, sprung 1
of a pure race, I will recite the Mahāvamsa, of varied content
and lacking nothing. That (Mahāvamsa) which was compiled 2
by the ancient (sages) was here too long drawn out and there
too closely knit; and contained many repetitions. Attend ye 3
now to this (Mahāvamsa) that is free from such faults, easy
to understand and remember, arousing serene joy and
emotion and handed down (to us) by tradition,—(attend ye to 4
it) while that ye call up serene joy and emotion (in you) ¹
at passages that awaken serene joy and emotion.

On seeing the Sambuddha Dīpaṅkara, in olden times, our 5
Conqueror resolved to become a Buddha, that he might release
the world from evil. When he had offered homage to that 6
Sambuddha and likewise to Koṇḍañña and to the sage
Maṅgala, to Sumana, to the Buddha Revata and likewise to
the great sage Sobhita, to the Sambuddha Anomadassi, to 7
Paduma and to the Conqueror Nārada, to the Sambuddha
Padumuttara and to the Tathāgata Sumedha, and to Sujāta, 8
to Piyadassi and to the Master Atthadassi, to Dham-
madassi and Siddhattha, to Tissa and the Conqueror Phussa, 9
to Vipassi and the Sambuddha Sikhi, and the Sam-
buddha Vessabhu, the mighty one, to the Sambuddha

¹ Read *janayantā*, referring the participle to the subject implied in *suṇoṭha*. The terms *pasāda* 'serene joy' and *samvega* 'emotion' occur also in the postscripts of the single chapters of the Mah. *Pasāda* signifies the feeling of blissfulness, joy and satisfaction in the doctrine of the Buddha, *samvega* the feeling of horror and recoil from the world and its misery. See also 23. 62 with note.

- 10 Kakusandha, and likewise to Koṇāgamana, as also to the blessed Kassapa,—having offered homage to these twenty-four Saṃbuddhas and having received from them the prophecy of
 11 his (future) buddhahood he, the great hero, when he had fulfilled all perfections¹ and reached the highest enlightenment, the sublime Buddha Gotama, delivered the world from suffering.
- 12 At Uravelā,² in the Magadha country, the great sage, sitting at the foot of the Bodhi-tree, reached the supreme enlighten-
 13 ment on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha.³ Seven weeks he tarried there, mastering his senses,⁴ while that he himself knew the high bliss of deliverance and let (others)
 14 behold its felicity.⁵ Then he went to Bārāṇasī and set rolling the wheel of the law; and while he dwelt there through the rain-months, he brought sixty (hearers) to arahantship.⁶
 15 When he had sent forth these bhikkhus to preach the doctrine, and when he had converted the thirty companions of the

¹ The ten pāramī. Cf. *Jāt.* i. p. 20 foll. The idea is late and not found in the four Nikāyas. See RHYE DAVINS, *Buddhist India*, p. 177. KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 66.

² Buddh Gayā or Bodhi Gayā in Gayā district, Bengal.

³ The second month in the ordinary Indian lunar year, answering in the time of Buddha to part of March and part of April. The names of the Indian lunar months are as follows:—

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| (1) Citta | = February: March or March: April. |
| (2) Vesākha | = March: April or April: May. |
| (3) Jettha | = April: May or May: June. |
| (4) Āsāḷha | = May: June or June: July. |
| (5) Sāvāṇa | = June: July or July: August. |
| (6) Pottṭhapāda | = July: August or August: September. |
| (7) Assāyuja | = August: September or September: October. |
| (8) Kattika | = September: October or October: November. |
| (9) Maggasira | = October: November or November: December. |
| (10) Phussa | = November: December or December: January. |
| (11) Māgha | = December: January or January: February. |
| (12) Phagguṇa | = January: February or February: March. |

See FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 6.

⁴ Vasi. A play on this word and vasi 'he tarried'.

⁵ With the whole passage cf. Mah. ed., p. iii.

⁶ Saṭṭhip arahataṃ akā. Arahataṃ as a gen. plural is dependent on the numeral. Literally: he made sixty arahants.

company of Bhadda¹ then did the Master dwell at Uruvelā 16
the winter through, for the sake of converting the thou-
sand jaṭilas² led by Kassapa, making them ripe (for
deliverance).

(Now since a great sacrifice by Kassapa of Uruvelā was near 17
at hand, and since he saw that this latter would fain have him
away,³ he, the victorious over enemies, went to seek alms 18
among the Northern Kuru;⁴ and when he had eaten his
meal at evening time near the lake Anotatta,⁵ the Conqueror, 19
in the ninth month of his buddhahood, at the full moon of
Phussa,⁶ himself set forth for the isle of Laṅkā, to win Laṅkā
for the faith.⁷ For Laṅkā was known to the Conqueror as 20
a place where his doctrine should (thereafter) shine in glory;
and (he knew that) from Laṅkā, filled with the yakkhas, the
yakkhas must (first) be driven forth.⁸

And he knew also that in the midst of Laṅkā, on the fair 21
river bank, in the delightful Mahānāga garden, three yojanas
long and a yojana wide, the (customary) meeting-place for 22
the yakkhas, there was a great gathering of (all) the
yakkhas dwelling in the island. To this great gathering of 23
that yakkhas went the Blessed One, and there, in the midst of
that assembly, hovering in the air over their heads, at the 24
place of the (future) Mahiyanāga-thūpa,⁹ he struck terror

¹ For the conversion of the Timpā Bhaddavaggiyā see M.V.
I. 14.

² Jaṭilū, ascetics wearing the hair long and matted. See M.V.
I. 15 ff.

³ Lit. after he had known this latter's wish that he should not come.

⁴ The Uttarā Kurū are a half-mythological people, dwelling in
the north of India.

⁵ One of the seven great lakes, situated in the Himalaya mountains.

⁶ The tenth month of the lunar year. See note on I. 12.

⁷ Lit. to purify, to cleanse (visodhetum). Laṅkā = Ceylon.

⁸ From the ānū (N. Si. F.) in the first line another ānū
(N. Pl. M.) must be understood with yakkhā nibbāsīyā (Part.
Fut. Pass. Skr. nir-vas, Caus.) in the second line of the verse, to
complete the sentence.

⁹ According to tradition the Bintenne-dāgaba (TENNENT, *Ceylon*,
ii, pp. 420-421), on the right bank of the Mahawāliganga, which is
called mahānāgā or simply nāgā in the Mah.

25 to their hearts by rain, storm, darkness and so forth.¹ The
 yakkhas, overwhelmed by fear, besought the fearless Van-
 quisher to release them from terrors, and the Vanquisher,
 26 destroyer of fear,² spoke thus to the terrified yakkhas: 'I will
 banish this your fear and your distress, O yakkhas, give ye here
 27 to me with one accord a place where I may sit down.' The
 yakkhas thus answered the Blessed One: 'We all, O Lord,
 give you even the whole of our island. Give us release from
 28 our fear.' Then, when he had destroyed their terror, cold
 and darkness, and had spread his rug of skin³ on the ground
 29 that they bestowed on him, the Conqueror, sitting there, made
 the rug to spread wide, while burning flame surrounded it.
 Daunted by the burning heat thereof and terrified, they stood
 30 around on the border. Then did the Saviour cause the pleasant
 Giridīpa⁴ to come here near to them, and when they had settled
 31 there, he made it return to its former place. Then did the
 Saviour fold his rug of skin; the devas assembled, and in
 32 their assembly the Master preached them the doctrine. The
 conversion of many koṭis of living beings took place,⁵ and
 countless were those who came unto the (three) refuges and
 the precepts of duty.⁶

¹ Lit. he made for them a means of terror, consisting of rain, storm, darkness and so forth.

² Lit. who confers fearlessness (or freedom from peril), a play on the words abhaya and bhaya. See 27. 30.

³ Lit. piece of hide.

⁴ It would be a mistake to look for a clear geographical statement. The underlying notion here expressed is simply that the yakkhas were driven back to the highlands (giri) in the interior of the island. They are still to be found in Ceylon in later times. The meaning of dīpa was formerly a wider one; a later tradition has brought it to mean 'island' in our sense. Cf. also Nāgādīpa as name of a part of Ceylon itself (I. 47 with note).

⁵ The term dhammābhisamaya (see CHILDERS, *P. D.*, s. v.) means 'the attainment by an unconverted man of one of the four paths' (of sanctification). Koṭi is an indefinite great number, according to the Indian system equal to ten millions.

⁶ Sarāṇesu ca silesu ṭhita is the expression for the adherence of the laity. They take their refuge (sarāṇa) in the Buddha, his doctrine and his community, and undertake to keep certain binding commandments. See notes to I. 62.

The prince of devas, Mahāsumana of the Sumanakūṭa-¹ 33
mountain,¹ who had attained to the fruit of entering into
the path of salvation,² craved of him who should be worshipped,
something to worship. The Conqueror, the (giver of) good to 34
living beings, he who had pure and blue-black locks, passing his
hand over his (own) head, bestowed on him a handful of hairs.
And he, receiving this in a splendid golden urn, when he had 35
laid the hairs upon a heap of many-coloured gems, seven cubits
round, piled up at the place where the Master had sat, covered 36
them over with a thūpa of sapphire and worshipped them.

When the Saṃbuddha had died, the thera named Sarabhu, 37
disciple of the thera Sāriputta, by his miraculous power received,
even from the funeral pyre, the collar-bone of the Conqueror and 38
brought it hither (to Laṅkā), and, with the bhikkhus all around
him, he there laid it in that same cetiya, covered it over with 39
golden-coloured stones,³ and (then he), the worker of miracles,
having made the thūpa twelve cubits⁴ high, departed again from
thence. The son of king Devānappiṇḍiṣṣa's brother, named 40
Uddhaṇḍabhaya, saw the wondrous cetiya and (again) covered 41
it over and made it thirty cubits high. The king Dutthagā-
maṇi, dwelling there while he made war upon the Damiḷas,
built a mantle cetiya over it eighty cubits high. Thus was 42
the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-thūpa completed. When he had thus made 43
our island a fit dwelling-place for men, the mighty ruler,
valiant as are great heroes, departed for Uruvelā.

Here ends the Visit to Mahiyaṅgaṇa.

Now the most compassionate Teacher, the Conqueror, 44
rejoicing in the salvation of the whole world, when dwelling

¹ Sumanakūṭa is the Adam's Peak.

² Sotāpatti is the stage of a sotāpanna 'who has entered the stream', who has attained to the first grade of sanctification, a converted man. As to the second and third grade see the notes to 15. 18 and 13. 17.

³ On medavappapāsāpā, stones of the (golden, or cream) colour of fat, fat-coloured, see Mah. ed., p. 355.

⁴ See note to 15. 167.

45 at Jetavana¹ in the fifth year of his buddhahood, saw that a war, caused by a gem-set throne, was like to come to pass
 46 between the nāgas Mahodara and Cūlodara, uncle and nephew, and their followers; and he, the Sambuddha, on the uposatha-
 47 day of the dark half of the month Citta, in the early morning, took his sacred alms-bowl and his robes, and, from compassion for the nāgas, sought the Nāgadīpa.²

48 That same nāga Mahodara was then a king, gifted with miraculous power, in a nāga-kingdom in the ocean, that
 49 covered half a thousand yojanas. His younger sister had been given (in marriage) to the nāga-king on the Kappāvaḍḍhamāna-
 50 mountain; her son was Cūlodara. His mother's father had given to his mother a splendid throne of jewels, then the nāga
 51 had died and therefore this war of nephew with uncle was threatening; and also the nāgas of the mountains were armed with miraculous power.

52 The deva named Samiddhisumana took a rājāyatana-tree
 53 standing in Jetavana, his own fair habitation, and, holding it like a parasol over the Conqueror, he, with the Teacher's leave,
 54 attended him to that spot where he had formerly dwelt.³ That very deva had been, in his latest birth, a man in Nāgadīpa. On the spot where thereafter the rājāyatana-tree stood, he
 55 saw paccakabuddhas taking their meal. And at the sight his heart was glad and he offered branches to cleanse the alms-
 56 bowl. Therefore he was reborn in that tree in the pleasant Jetavana-garden, and it (the tree) stood afterwards outside at
 57 the side of the gate-rampart.⁴ The God of all gods saw (in this) an advantage for that deva, and, for the sake of the good which should spring (therefrom) for our land, he brought him hither (to Laṅkā) together with his tree.

58 Hovering there in mid-air above the battlefield the Master,

¹ A park and monastery near Sāvathī in the Kosala country (see Vogel, *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 971 foll.), presented to the Master by Anāthapiḍḍika. *Jst.* i. 92 foll.

² Apparently the north-western part of Ceylon. See 20, 25, with the note.

³ I. e. to Nāgadīpa.

⁴ Keṭṭhaka 'battlemented dwelling or gateway'. See M.V. VIII. 13. 5; C.V. IV. 4. 6; *S.B.E.* xvii, p. 219, n. 1; xx, p. 11, n. 1.

who drives away (spiritual) darkness, called forth dread darkness over the nāgas. Then comforting those who were distressed 59 by terror he once again spread light abroad. When they saw the Blessed One they joyfully did reverence to the Master's feet. Then preached the Vanquisher to them the doctrine that begets concord, and both [nāgas] gladly gave up the throne to the Sage.¹ When the Master, having 61 alighted on the earth, had taken his place on a seat there, and had been refreshed with celestial food and drink by the nāga-kings, he, the Lord, established in the (three) refuges² 62 and in the moral precepts³ eighty koṭis of snake-spirits, dwellers in the ocean and on the mainland.

The nāga-king Maṇiakkhika of Kalyāṇi,⁴ mother's brother 63 to the nāga Mahodara, who had come thither to take part in the battle, and who, aforetime, at the Buddha's first coming, 64 having heard the true doctrine preached, had become established in the refuges and in the moral duties, prayed now to the Tathāgata: 'Great is the compassion that thou hast 65 shown us here, O Master! Hadst thou not appeared we had all been consumed to ashes. May thy compassion yet light also 66 especially on me, O thou who art rich in loving-kindness, in that thou shalt come yet again hither to my dwelling-country, O thou peerless one.' When the Lord had consented by his 67 silence to come thither, he planted the rājāyatana-tree on that very spot as a sacred memorial, and the Lord of the Worlds 68 gave over the rājāyatana-tree and the precious throne-seat to the nāga-kings to do homage thereto. 'In remembrance that 69 I have used these do homage to them,'⁵ ye nāga-kings!

¹ I.e. the Buddha.

² I.e. buddha, dhamma, saṃgha 'the Buddha, his doctrine and his community'. The Buddhist confession of faith consists in the words buddham saraṃgam gacchāmi, dhammam a.g., saṃgham a.g. 'I take my refuge in the B. &c.'

³ The pañcā sīlāni, which are binding on all Buddhists, are abstention from destruction of life, theft, adultery, lying, and from the use of intoxicating liquors. Cf. note to 18. 10.

⁴ Now Kālanī, name of a river which falls into the sea near Colombo.

⁵ I.e. 'Do homage to them as to a memorial consisting in objects used by me.'

This, well beloved, will bring to pass blessing and happiness for you.' When the Blessed One had uttered this and other exhortation to the nāgas, he, the compassionate saviour of all the world, returned to Jetavana.

Here ends the Visit to Nāgadīpa.

In the third year after this, the nāga-king Maniakkhika sought out the Saṃbuddha and invited him, together with the brotherhood. In the eighth year after he had attained to buddhahood, when the Vanquisher was dwelling in Jetavana, the Master, set forth surrounded by five hundred bhikkhus, on the second day of the beautiful month of Vesākha, at the full-moon, and when the hour of the meal was announced the Vanquisher, prince of the wise, forthwith putting on his robe and taking his alms-bowl went to the Kalyāṇi country, the habitation of Maniakkhika. Under a canopy decked with gems, raised upon the spot where (afterwards) the Kalyāṇi-cetiya was built, he took his place, together with the brotherhood of bhikkhus, upon a precious throne-seat. And, greatly rejoicing, the nāga-king with his following served celestial food, both hard and soft, to the king of truth, the Conqueror, with his followers.

When the Teacher, compassionate to the whole world, had preached the doctrine there, he rose, the Master, and left the traces of his footsteps plain to sight on Sumanakūṭa. And after he had spent the day as it pleased him at the foot of this mountain, with the brotherhood, he set forth for Dighavāpi.¹ And there the Master seated himself with the brotherhood at the place where the cetiya (thereafter) stood, and gave himself up to meditation, to consecrate the spot. Then arose the Great Sage from that place, and knowing well which places were fit and which unfit he went to the place of the (later) Mahāmeghavānārāma.² After he had seated himself with his disciples at

¹ The Dighavāpi is probably the Kandiya-kattu tank in the Eastern Province, about 30 miles SSW. from Batticaloa. A large dīgaba is said to be in the neighbourhood of the tank. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 318, 396.

² The Mahāmeghavāna was a park south of the capital Anurādhā-

the place, where the sacred Bodhi-tree came afterwards to be, the Master gave himself up to meditation; and likewise there where the Great Thūpa¹ stood (in later days) and there also⁸² where (afterwards) the thūpa in the Thūpārāma² stood. Then when he rose up from meditation he went to the place of the (later) Silācetiya,³ and after the Leader of the assembly (of⁸³ bhikkhus) had uttered exhortation to the assembly of devas, he, the Enlightened, who has trodden all the paths of enlightenment, returned thence to Jetavana.

Thus the Master of boundless wisdom, looking to the⁸⁴ salvation of Laṅkā in time to come, and knowing in that time the highest good for the hosts of asuras and nāgas and so forth in Laṅkā, visited this fair island three times,—he, the compassionate Enlightener of the world;—therefore this isle, radiant with the light of truth, came to high honour among faithful believers.

Here ends the Visit to Kalyāṇī.

Here ends the first chapter, called 'The Visit of the Tathāgata', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

pura and was presented to the priesthood as an ārāma or monastery by the king Devānampiyatissa. See 15. 9 foll. and note to 11. 2.

¹ The Ruwanweli-dāgaba of Anurādhapura. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura*, p. 23 foll.; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 279 foll.

² A monastery in Anurādhapura. SMITHER, *l.c.*, p. 1 foll.; PARKER, *l.c.*, p. 263 foll. Cf. note to 17. 30.

³ I.e. 'Stone-cetiya,' now Selacetiya in Anurādhapura. SMITHER, *l.c.*, p. 35; PARKER, *l.c.*, p. 297 foll.

CHAPTER II

THE RACE OF MAHĀSAMMATA

- 1 SPRUNG of the race of king Mahāsammata was the Great
Sage. For in the beginning of this age of the world there
2 was a king named Mahāsammata, and (the kings) Roja and
Varuroja, and the two Kalyāṇakas,¹ Upasatha and Mandhātā
3 and the two, Caraka and Upacara, and Cetiya and Mucala and
he who bore the name Mahāmucala, Mucalinda and Sāgara
4 and he who bore the name Sāgaradeva; Bharata and
Aṅgīrasa and Ruci and also Suruci, Patāpa and Mahāpatāpa
5 and the two Panādas likewise, Sudassana and Neru, two
6 and two;² also Accimā. His sons and grandsons, these
twenty-eight princes whose lifetime was immeasurably (long),
7 dwelt in Kusāvati, Rājagaha, and Mithilā.³ Then followed
a hundred kings,⁴ and (then) fifty-six, and (then) sixty,

¹ I. e. Kalyāṇa and Varakalyāṇa. Dīp. 3. 6.

² Panāda and Mahāpanāda, Sudassana and Mahāsudassana, Neru and Mahāneru.

³ Kusāvati is the later Kusiṇṇrī. See note on 3. 2. Rājagaha, now Rājgir, was the capital of Magadha, and Mithilā, situated in the Bengal district Tirhut, that of Videha.

⁴ The dynasties from Accimā to Kalārajanaka are dealt with in detail in Dīp. 3. 14-37. Besides (i) the number of the princes sprung of each dynasty, the (ii) capital cities of each period, and (iii) the last king of each line are mentioned. The numbers and names are these:

100	at Pakula (?)	the last being	Arimḍana.
55	" Ayujjha	" "	Duppasaha.
60	" Bārāṇasī	" "	Ajitajana.
84,000	" Kapilānagara	" "	Brahmadatta.
36	" Hatthipura	" "	Kambalavasabha.
22	" Ekacakku	" "	Purindadadeva.
28	" Vajirā	" "	Sādhina.
22	" Madhurā	" "	Dharmagutta.

eighty-four thousand, and then further thirty-six, thirty-two, 8
twenty-eight, then further twenty-eight, eighteen, seventeen,
fifteen, fourteen; nine, seven, twelve, then further twenty- 9
five; and (again) twenty-five, twelve and (again) twelve, and
yet again nine and eighty-four thousand with Makhādeva 10
coming at the head, and (once more) eighty-four thousand
with Kalārajanaka at the head; and sixteen even unto 11
Okkāka; these descendants (of Mahāsammata) reigned in
groups in their due order, each one in his capital.

The prince Okkāmmukha was Okkāka's eldest son; Nipuna, 12
Candimā, Candamukha and Siviśamjaya, the great king 13
Vessantara, Jāli, and Sihavahana and Sihassara: these were
his sons and grandsons. Eighty-two thousand in number were 14
the royal sons and grandsons of king Sihassara; Jayasena
was the last of them. They are known as the Sakya kings 15
of Kapilavatthu.¹ The great king Sihahanu was Jayasena's

18 at Ariṭṭhapura	the last being	Sitṭhi.
17 „ Indapatta	„	„ Brahmaḍeva.
15 „ Ekacakkhu	„	„ Baladatta.
14 „ Kosambī	„	„ Bhaddadeva.
9 „ Kappagoccha	„	„ Naradeva.
7 „ Rojānanaḡara	„	„ Mahinda.
12 „ Campā	„	„ Nāgadeva.
25 „ Mithilā	„	„ Buddhadatta.
25 „ Rājagaha	„	„ Dipamkara.
12 „ Takkaṣilā	„	„ Tālisara.
12 „ Kueinārā	„	„ Parinda.
9 „ Malitṭhiya	„	„ Sāgaradeva.

The son of Sāgaradeva was Makhādeva; the dynasty of Makhādeva
(84,000) reigned in Mithilā. The last prince was Nemiya, father of
Kalārajanaka. These were followed by Samanikura, then by Asoka;
this was followed by a dynasty of 84,000 princes reigning in Bārāṇasī.
The last was Vijaya. He was followed by Vijitasena, Dhammasena,
Nāgasena, Samatha, Disampati, Reṇu, Kusa, Mahākusa, Navaratha,
Dasaratha, Rāma, Bijāratha, Cittaḍassi, Atthadassi, Sujāta, Okkāka,
and so on. The same in Atthakathā, Mah. T. 81¹¹-83²². The Kamb,
Mah., v. 729-789, follows the Tika.

¹ The site of Kapilavatthu, the capital of the Sakya tribe and
Gotama Buddha's birthplace, is probably the present Tilaura Kot in
Nepal. See RHYA DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 18 n.

16 son, and Jayasena's daughter was named Yasodharā. In
 17 Devadaha there was a prince named Devadahasakka, Añjana
 and Kaccānā were his two children. Kaccānā was the first
 18 consort of Sihahanu, but the Sakka Añjana's queen was
 Yasodharā. Añjana had two daughters, Māyā and Pajāpati,
 19 and also two sons, Daṇḍapāṇi and the Sākiya Suppa-
 20 buddha. But Sihahanu had five sons and two daughters:
 Suddhodana, Dhododana, Sakka-, Sukka-,¹ and Amitodana,
 and Amitā and Pamitā; these were the five sons and two
 daughters.

21 The royal consort of the Sakka Suppabuddha was Amitā;
 22 she had two children: Bhaddakaccānā and Devadatta. Māyā
 and Pajāpati were Suddhodana's queens, and the son of the
 great king Suddhodana and of Māyā was our Conqueror.

23 Of this race of Mahāsammata, thus succeeding, was born,
 in unbroken line, the Great Sage, he who stands at the head
 24 of all men of lordly birth. The consort of the prince
 Siddhattha, the Bodhisatta, was Bhaddakaccānā; her son was
 Rāhula.

25 Bimbisāra and the prince Siddhattha were friends, and
 26 friends likewise were the fathers of both. The Bodhisatta
 was five years older than Bimbisāra; twenty-nine years old
 27 was he when he left (his father's) house. When he had
 striven six years and thereafter had attained to wisdom, he,
 28 being thirty-five years old, visited Bimbisāra. The virtuous
 Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king
 29 by his own father, and when sixteen years had gone by since
 his coming to the throne, the Master preached his doctrine.
 30 Two and fifty years he reigned; fifteen years of his reign
 passed before the meeting with the Conqueror, and yet thirty-
 seven years (of his reign) followed in the lifetime of the
 Tathāgata.

31 Bimbisāra's son, the foolish Ajātasattu, reigned thirty-two
 32 years after he, the traitor, had slain (his father). In the
 eighth year of Ajātasattu the Sage entered into nibbāna and
 thereafter did he, Ajātasattu, reign yet twenty-four years.

¹ I. e. Sakkodana and Sukkodana.

The Tathāgata, who has reached the summit of all virtue, 33 yielded himself up, albeit free, into the power of impermanence. He who shall contemplate this (same) dread-begetting impermanence shall attain unto the end of suffering.

Here ends the second chapter, called 'The Race of Mahāsaṃmata', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST COUNCIL

- 1 WHEN the Conqueror the incomparable, he who has the
five eyes,¹ had lived eighty-four years and had fulfilled all his
2 duties in the world, in all ways, then at Kusinārā² in the
holy place between the two sāla-trees,³ on the full-moon day
of the month Vesākha, was the light of the world ex-
tinguished.
- 3 Beyond all reckoning in numbers, did bhikkhus assemble
there and khattiyas and brahmans, vessas and suddas, and
4 gods likewise. Seven hundred thousand leading bhikkhus
were among them, the therā Mahākassapa was at that time
the saṃghattherā.
- 5 When he had performed all rites due to the (dead) body of
the Master and the bodily relics, the great therā, desiring that
6 the doctrine of the Master might long endure, did, seven days
after the Lord of the World, gifted with the ten powers,⁴ had
passed into nibbāna, bethinking him of the evil words of the
7 aged Subhadda⁵ and also bethinking him that he (the Master)

¹ The five eyes possessed by the Buddha are the bodily eyes (maṇḍasakkhū), the heavenly eye (dibba^o) by which he sees every-thing that comes to pass in the universe, the eye of understanding (knowledge), the eye of omniscience, and finally the Buddha-eye by means of which he beholds the saving truth.

² A town of the clan of the Mallas, in the territory of the present Nepal.

³ *Shorea Robusta*.

⁴ On the *dasa balāni*, ten kinds of knowledge, peculiar to a Buddha, see KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 62; CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s.v. *balam*.

⁵ *Vuddha* = *vuddhapabbajita* 'who had not become a monk till he was old'. On the speech of Subhadda, see C.V. XI. 1.1 = *Fin. Pā.* ii, 284. KERN, *l. l.*, pp. 101-102.

had given him his garment,¹ and had (thereby) made him equal with himself, and (bethinking him) that the Sage had commanded the establishing of the holy truth, and (lastly) that 8 the Sambuddha's consent existed to make a compilation of the holy dhamma² appointed to this end five hundred eminent 9 bhikkhus, who had overcome the āsavas,³ repeaters of the nine-fold doctrine and versed in all its separate parts; but there was one less (than five hundred) because of the thera Ānanda.⁴ And the thera Ānanda also, again and again entreated by 10 the bhikkhus, resolved to (join with them in) that compilation of the dhamma, for it was not possible without him.

When these theras, pitiful toward the whole world, had 11 passed half a month—seven days in the funeral ceremonies and seven in homage of the relics—and had resolved thus: 12 'Spending the rainy season in Rājagaha, we will make a compilation of the dhamma, no other (monks) must be permitted to dwell there'; and when they had made their pilgrimage 13 over Jambudīpa,⁵ consoling here and there the sorrowing people, they, moved with desire that the good might long 14 endure,⁶ betook them in the bright half of the month Āsāḷha to Rājagaha, (the city) richly provided with the four things needful.⁷

After the theras, with Mahākassapa at the head, unwavering 15 in virtue, familiar with the thought of the Sambuddha,

¹ The Buddha gave his garment to Kassapa. On the second *saram* depend *civaradānaṃ* 'the giving of the robe', and *samatte thapanam* 'putting on a footing of equality', and then further *anuggaham katam* and *anumatim satim* (Acc. Si. F. of Part. Pres. of athi). Cf. Mah. ed., pp. xxx and li.

² *Kāṭum saddhammasamgītī*. Cf. the note on 3. 17.

³ *Khīṇāsava* 'one in whom the four āsavas are extinct' is the epithet of an arahant. On āsava, see RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 92; ii. 28.

⁴ A place must be kept for Ānanda.

⁵ The continent of India.

⁶ A play upon the word *sukkapakkha*, used in the sense, 'bright half of the month,' and also 'pure, holy side or party'.

⁷ The four *paccayā* of a bhikkhu are clothing, food given as alms, a dwelling-place, and medicines.

- 16 had arrived at that place to spend the rainy season there; they busied themselves during the first of the rain-months with repairing all the dwellings, when they had announced this to Ajātasattu.
- 17 When the repair of the vihāra was finished they said to the
 18 king: 'Now we will hold the council.'¹ To the question,
 'What should be done?' they answered: 'A place (should be provided) for the meetings.' When the king had asked: 'Where (these were to be)?' and the place had been pointed out by them,
 19 he with all speed had a splendid hall built by the side of the Vebhāra Rock by the entrance of the Sattapanni grotto, (and
 20 it was) like to the assembly-hall of the gods. When it was adorned in every way he caused precious mats to be spread
 21 according to the number of the bhikkhus. Placed on the south side and facing the north a lofty and noble seat was prepared
 22 for the therā, and in the middle of the hall a high seat was prepared for the preacher,² facing the east and worthy of the blessed (Buddha) himself.
- 23 So the king bade them tell the theras: 'My work is finished,' and the theras addressed the therā Ānanda, the joy-bringer:
 24 'To-morrow, Ānanda, the assembly (comes together); it behoves thee not to take part in it since thou art still preparing thee (for the highest state),³ therefore strive thou, unwearied
 25 in good.' Thus spurred on, the therā put forth due effort

¹ Dhammasaṃgīti is the term for assembly of the church, council. The original meaning is general recitation of the canonical texts which, indeed, takes place in an assembly of the church and in the following manner: an eminent therā recites the texts sentence by sentence and the assembly repeats them after him in chorus. In this way dhammasaṃgīti is connected with dhammasaṃgaha, by which we understand a *settling* or *redaction* of the canonical texts, which also can only be carried out in the manner stated. Comp. *J.P.T.S.* 1909, pp. 31, 32.

² Therāsana is the seat for the president, who directs the assembly; dhammāsana the same for the monk who recites, the word uttama is to be taken literally.

³ Still a sekha, i.e. not an arahant, who has reached the highest degree. This is preceded by seven grades of preparation: he who is still at one of these is sekha 'a learner'. See *J.P.T.S.* 1909, p. 217.

and reached the state of an arahant without being confined to any one of the four postures.¹

On the second day of the second month of the rainy season 26 the bhikkhus met together in that splendid hall. Leaving a 27 fitting place vacant for Ānanda, the arahants seated themselves on chairs, according to their rank. The therā Ānanda, to make 28 known to them that he had reached the state of an arahant, went not with them thither. But when some asked: Where is the therā Ānanda? he took the seat prepared for him, 29 rising out of the ground or passing through the air.²

Together the theras chose the therā Upāli to speak for³ the 30 vinaya, for the rest of the dhamma⁴ they chose Ānanda. The great therā (Mahākassapa) laid on himself (the task) of 31 asking questions touching the vinaya and the therā Upāli (was ready) to explain it.

Sitting in the therā's chair, the former asked the latter the 32 questions touching the vinaya; and Upāli, seated in the preacher's chair, expounded (the matter). And as this best 33 master of the vinaya expounded each (clause) in turn all (the bhikkhus) knowing the custom, repeated the vinaya after him.

Then the therā (Mahākassapa) taking (the task) upon himself 34 questioned concerning the dhamma, him⁵ the chief of those who had most often heard (the word), him the treasure-keeper⁶ of the Great Seer (the Buddha); and the therā 35 Ānanda, taking (the task) upon himself, taking his seat in the preacher's chair, expounded the whole dhamma. And 36

¹ Lit. free from the *iriyāpatha*; the four postures of an ascetic are understood here. They are described as: standing, sitting, walking, lying down. Ānanda became an arahant at the moment when he was on the point of lying down.

² Lit. 'the path of the light.' Ānanda shows that he can use the miraculous powers particular to an arahant.

³ Lit. 'as burden bearer for.' Cf. B.R., *Skt. Wb.*, s.v. *dhuraṇḍhara* (4).

⁴ The vinaya contains the rules of monastic discipline, the dhamma the dogmatic teaching.

⁵ I.e. Ānanda.

⁶ *Kosāṇṇakka*, according to the *Tikā* = *dhammabhaṇḍāgārika*, i.e. treasurer of the truth or the true doctrine.

all the (theras) knowing all that was contained in the doctrine repeated the dhamma in turn after the sage of the Videha country.

- 37 Thus in seven months was that compiling of the dhamma
to save the whole world completed by those (theras) bent on
38 the whole world's salvation. 'The therā Mahākassapa has
made the blessed Buddha's message to endure five hundred
39 years,' rejoicing in this thought, at the end of the council,
40 the earth encircled by the ocean trembled six times and many
wondrous signs were shown in the world in many ways. Now
since the canon was compiled by the theras it was called the
41 Therā tradition.¹ The theras who had held the First Council
and had (thereby) brought great blessing to the world, having
lived their allotted span of life, entered, all, into nibbāna.
42 Also the theras who have overcome darkness with the light of
insight, those great shining lights in the conquest of the world's
darkness, have been extinguished by the dread tempest of
death. Therefore will the wise man renounce the joy of life.

Here ends the third chapter, called 'The First Council', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The oldest account of the First Council is contained in the C.V. XI (OLDENBERG, *the Vin. Pit.* ii, p. 284 foll.); *Vinaya Texts*, iii (S.B.E. ix), p. 370 foll.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND COUNCIL

WHEN Ajātasattu's son Udayabhaddaka¹ had slain him he, 1
the traitor, reigned sixteen years. Udayabhaddaka's son 2
Anuruddhaka slew (his father) and Anuruddha's son named
Muṇḍa did likewise. Traitors and fools, these (sons) reigned 3
over the kingdom; in the reign of these two (kings) eight
years elapsed.

Muṇḍa's son Nāgadāsaka slew his father and then did the 4
evildoer reign twenty-four years.

Then were the citizens wroth, saying: 'This is a dynasty 5
of parricides,' and when they had banished the king Nāgadā-
saka they met together and (since) the minister known by the 6
name Susunāga was proved to be worthy, they anointed him
king, mindful of the good of all. He reigned as king eighteen 7
years. His son Kālāsoka reigned twenty-eight years. At the 8
end of the tenth year of Kālāsoka's reign a century had gone
by since the parinibbāna of the Saṃbuddha.

At that time in Vesālī many bhikkhus of the Vajji-clan² 9
did shamelessly teach that the Ten Points³ were lawful,
namely 'Salt in the horn', 'Two fingers' breadth', 'Visiting 10

¹ In the Sinhalese MSS. this name appears in the form 'Udāyibhaddaka'. Cf. D. I. 50th Udāyibh^o or Udāyabh^o (E. MÜLLER, *J.P.T.S.* 1888, p. 14). The Dip. 4. 38, 5. 97, 11. 8 has Udayabhadda).

² On the confederacy of the Vajjis see RHYA DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, pp. 25-26. On Vesālī, *ibid.*, p. 40. According to V. SMITH (*Early History of India*, p. 27, n. 1; *J.R.A.S.* 1902, p. 267 foll.) its site is the modern Basār (N. lat. 25° 58' 20", E. long. 85° 11' 30") in the District Muzaffarpur, north of Patna.

³ The history of the Second Council is also given in the C.V. XII. Cf. *Vinaya Texts*, iii (S.B.E. xx), pp. 386 foll. Here C.V. XII. 1. 9; 2. 8) the single points are explained:

(i) Singilopakappa, the custom of putting salt in a horn-vessel, in order to season unsalted foods, when received.

(ii) Dvaṅgulakappa, the custom of taking the midday meal,

all the (theras) knowing all that was contained in the doctrine repeated the dhamma in turn after the sage of the Videha country.

- 37 Thus in seven months was that compiling of the dhamma
to save the whole world completed by those (theras) bent on
38 the whole world's salvation. 'The therā Maḅākaṣṣapa has
made the blessed Buddha's message to endure five hundred
39 years,' rejoicing in this thought, at the end of the council,
40 the earth encircled by the ocean trembled six times and many
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41 'Therā tradition.'¹ The theras who had held the First Council
and had (thereby) brought great blessing to the world, having
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42 Also the theras who have overcome darkness with the light of
insight, those great shining lights in the conquest of the world's
darkness, have been extinguished by the dread tempest of
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CHAPTER IV

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(i) Siṅgiloṇakappa, the custom of putting salt in a horn vessel, in order to season unmitated foods, when received.

(ii) Dvaṅgulakappa, the custom of taking the midday meal,

the village', 'Dwelling', 'Consent', 'Example', 'Unchurned
11 milk', 'Unfermented palm-wine', 'Seat without fringe',
'Gold and so forth'.

When this came to the ears of the thera Yasa, the son of
12 the brahman Kākaṇḍaka, gifted with the six supernormal
powers,¹ who was wandering about in the Vajji country, he
betook himself to the Mahāvana (vihāra)² with the resolve to
13 settle the matter. In the uposatha-hall those (monks) had
placed a vessel made of metal and filled with water and had
said to the lay-folk: 'Bestow on the brotherhood kahāpapa³
14 and so on.' The thera forbade them with the words 'This is
unlawful; give nothing!' Then did they threaten the thera

even after the prescribed time, as long as the sun's shadow had not
passed the meridian by more than two-fingers' breadth.

(iii) Gāmantarakappa, the custom of going into the village,
after the meal, and there eating again, if invited.

(iv) Āvāsakappa, the custom of holding the uposatha-feast separately
by bhikkhus dwelling in the same district.

(v) Anumatikappa, the carrying out of official acts by an in-
complete chapter, on the supposition that the consent of absent
bhikkhus was obtained afterwards.

(vi) Āciṇṇakappa, the custom of doing something because of the
preceptor's practice.

(vii) Āmathitakappa, taking unchurned milk, even after the
mealtime.

(viii) Jalogikappa, drinking unfermented palm-wine.

(ix) Adasakam nisīdanam, the use of mats to sit on which
were not of the prescribed size, if they were without fringe.

(x) Jātarūparajataṃ, accepting gold and silver.

¹ Chaḷabhiññā. The six abhiññā are (i) the power of iddhi, (ii) the heavenly ear, i.e. supernormal power of hearing, (iii) the power to read the thoughts of others, (iv) the knowledge of former existences, (v) the heavenly eye, i.e. supernormal power of seeing, (vi) the abandonment of the āsavas. The last of these abhiññā is one of the signs of an arahant. See RHYSDAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 62; AUNG, *Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. 60-63; 224 foll.

² The Mahāvana-monastery is mentioned by Fā-Hian. See REAL, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i. p. 52.

³ Kahāpapa (Skt. kārṣāpapa) is a square copper coin, weighing 146.4 grains = 9.48 grams. See RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, p. 2; RHYSDAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 100.

Yasa with the penance called the Craving of pardon from lay-folk.¹ He asked for one to bear him company and went 15 with him into the city proclaiming to the citizens, that his teaching was according to the dhamma.

When the bhikkhus heard what (Yasa's) companion had to 16 tell, they came to thrust him out and surrounded the thera's house. The thera left it, rising up and passing through the 17 air, and halting at Kosambī, he forthwith sent messengers to the bhikkhus of Pāvā and Avanti;² he himself went to the 18 Ahogaṅga-mountain and related all to the thera Saṃbhūta Sāṅavāsi.³

Sixty great theras from Pāvā and eighty from Avanti, all 19 free from the āsavas,⁴ came together on the Ahogaṅga. The bhikkhus who met together here from this and that region 20 were in all ninety thousand. When they had all conferred together they, knowing that the deeply learned thera Revata 21 of Soreyya⁵ who was free from the āsavas, was the chief among them at that time, went thence to seek him out.

When the thera heard this resolution (by his divine ear) he 22 set out at once, wishing to travel easily,⁶ upon the way to Vesālī. Arriving day by day in the evening at the spot 23 whence the sage had departed in the morning (the theras) met him (at last) at Sahnjāti.

There the thera Yasa, as the thera Saṃbhūta had 24 charged him to do, at the end of the recital of the sacred word, addressing himself to the great thera Revata, questioned him on the Ten Points. The thera rejected them, and 25

¹ Paṭisāraṇiyakamma, see KERN, *Manual*, p. 87, note 8.

² Kosambī on the Yamunā was the capital of the Vatsas or Vamśas, Pāvā that of the Mallas; Avanti was the region of Ujjeni; RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, pp. 36, 26, 28. Instead of Pāveyyakā some of the Sinhalese MSS. read Pāṭṭheyyakā. But also at M.V. VII. 1. 1 (= *Vin. Pit.* i. 253^b) the Burmese MSS. have Pāveyyakā.

³ See *Vin. Texts*, iii (S.B.E. xi), p. 394, note 2.

⁴ Anāsava, see p. 15, n. 3.

⁵ Not far from Takkasilā in W. India, see *Pārājika*, 1. 4 (*Vin. Pit.* iii, p. 11); KERN, *Manual*, p. 36.

⁶ Cf. for the detailed description, C.V. XII. 1. 9 = *Vin. Texts*, iii (S.B.E. xi), p. 396.

when he had heard the matter, he said: 'Let us make an end (of this dispute).'¹

26 The heretical bhikkhus, too, in order to win support, sought the *thera* Revata. Preparing in abundance the things needful
27 for ascetics,² they took ship with all speed and went to *Sahajāti*, bestowing food sumptuously when the mealtime came.³

28 The *thera* Sāḷha, free from the āsavas, who lived at *Sahajāti*, having thought on the matter, perceived: 'Those of *Pāvā*
29 hold the true doctrine.' And the great god *Brahmā* drew near to him and said: 'Stand thou firm in the doctrine,' and he replied that he would ever stand firm in the doctrine.

30 They⁴ took those needful things (that they had brought as gifts) and sought the *thera* Revata, but the *thera* did not take their part and dismissed (the pupil) who took their part.⁵
31 They went thence to *Vesālī*, shameless they went from there
32 to *Pupphapura*,⁶ and told king *Kālāsoka*: 'Guarding our Master's perfumed chamber we dwell in the *Mahāvana-vihāra*
33 in the *Vajjī* territory; but bhikkhus dwelling in the country are coming, great king, with the thought: We will take the *vihāra* for ourselves. Forbid them!'

34 When they had thus misled the king they went (back) to *Vesālī*. Here in *Sahajāti* eleven hundred and ninety thousand bhikkhus were come together under the *thera* Revata,
35 and bhikkhus were come together under the *thera* Revata,
36 to bring the dispute to a peaceful end. And the *thera* would not end the dispute save in the presence of those with whom

¹ *Sāmaṇaka parikkhāra* (as a gift to Revata) is that which a monk is allowed to call his own, such as robes, the alms-bowl, &c. Cf. CHILDERS, s.v. *parikkhāro*.

² The underlying meaning is that they indulged in riotous living on their journey. *Vissagga* has the implied sense of something rich and luxuriant. The *Tikā* paraphrases *bhattavissaggaṃ* with *bhattaparivexanam*, *bhattaparibhogam*.

³ I.e. the *Vajjīan* monks.

⁴ On this passage see Mah. ed., pp. xxv-xxvi. However, I now prefer the reading *pakkhagāhiṃ*, since the passage evidently refers to Revata's disciple *Uttara* (C.V. XII. 2. 3), who allowed himself to be won over by the *Vajjīan* monks.

⁵ *Pupphapura*, the City of Flowers, a name of *Pāṭaliputta* (now *Patna*), capital at that time of the kingdom of *Magadha*.

it had begun;¹ therefore all the bhikkhus went thence to Vesālī.

The misguided king likewise sent his ministers thither, but led astray by the design of the devas they went elsewhere. And the monarch, when he had sent them, saw himself in a dream, that night, hurled into the hell called Lohakumbhī. The king was sorely terrified and, to calm his fears, his sister, Nandā, the therī free from the āsavas, came to him, passing through the air.

'An ill deed is this that thou hast done! Reconcile thee with these venerable bhikkhus, the true believers. Placing thyself on their side, protect thou their faith. If thou dost so, blessed art thou!' she said, and thereon vanished. And forthwith in the morning the king set out to go to Vesālī. He went to the Mahāvana (monastery), assembled the congregation of the bhikkhus there, and when he had heard what was said by both of the (opposing) sides, and had decided, himself, for the true faith, when moreover this prince was reconciled with all the rightly believing bhikkhus and had declared that he was for the right belief, he said: 'Do what ye think well to further the doctrine,' and when he had promised to be their protector, he returned to his capital.

Thereafter the brotherhood came together to decide upon these points; then, in the congregation (of monks), aimless words were spent. Then the therā Revata, who went into the midst of the brotherhood, resolved to settle the matter by means of an ubbāhikā.² He appointed four bhikkhus from the East, and four from Pāvā, for the ubbāhikā to set the dispute to rest. Sabbakāmi and Sāḷha, one named Khujjaśobhita, and Vāsabhagāmika, these were the theras from the

¹ Mūlatṭhehi vinā, lit. 'without those who were at the root.'

² Anaggūni bhassāni 'aimless' or 'inexact' speeches. The reading anaggāni bhassāni (Ed. Col. nantāni bh) is confirmed by C.V. IV. 14. 19 and XII. 2. 7.

³ Ubbāhikāya 'by means of a *Referat*', the settlement of a dispute being laid in the hands of certain chosen brethren. For the rule on this, see C.V. IV. 14. 19 ff.; *Vin. Texts*, iii (S.B.E. xx), p. 49 ff.

All these (theras met) in the Valikārūma protected by 63
Kālāsoka, under the leadership of the thera Revata, (and)
compiled the dhamma.¹ Since they accepted the dhamma 64
already established in time past and proclaimed afterward,
they completed their work in eight months.

When these theras of high renown had held the Second 65
Council, they, since in them all evil had perished, attained in
course of time unto nibbāna.

When we bethink us of the death of the sons of the 66
Universal Teacher, who were gifted with perfect insight, who
had attained all that is to attain, who had conferred blessings
on (the beings of) the three forms of existence,² then may
we lay to heart the entire vanity of all that comes into being³
and vigilantly strive (after deliverance).

Here ends the fourth chapter, called 'The Second Council',
in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
of the pious.

attha; ādiggahayenetta dhammapaṭisaṃbhidādīni nā-
pāni gahitānti. The compound means therefore literally, 'who
possess the specialized knowledge of the attha and so forth,' that is,
the four paṭisaṃbhidā. By this term is understood 'a transcendent
faculty in grasping the meaning of a text or subject (attha); in
grasping the Law of all things as taught by the Buddha (dhamma);
in exegesis (nirutti); readiness in expounding and discussion
(paṭibhāna)'. See Paṭisaṃbhidā-magga 1. 88.

¹ Akarūṃ dhammasaṃgahaṃ. See note to 3. 17.

² The three forms of existence are kāmabhava, rūpabhava,
arūpabhava 'sensual existence, corporeal existence, formless exist-
ence' (CHILDERS, *P.D.* s. vv.), that is, existences in the three worlds
so named, which together form that part of the universe called the
saṃlōka, 'world of beings.' In this the kāmālōka includes
the eleven lowest worlds, the rūpālōka the sixteen higher, and the
arūpālōka the four highest, celestial worlds.

³ Saṃkhatāsārahakattam: saṃkhatā is a synonym of saṃ-
khārā, and means in the widest sense the material and transitory
world. See CHILDERS, s. v. saṃkhāro.

CHAPTER V

THE THIRD COUNCIL

1 THAT redaction of the true dhamma, which was arranged at
the beginning by the great theras Mahākassapa and others,
2 is called that of the theras. One and united was the school
of the theras in the first hundred years. But afterwards
3 arose other schools of doctrine.¹ The heretical bhikkhus,
subdued by the theras who had held the Second Council,² in
4 all ten thousand, founded the school which bears the name
Mahāsaṃghika.³

From this arose the Gokulika and Ekavyohārika (schools).
5 From the Gokulikā arose the Pannatti sect and the Bahulikā,
from these the Cetiya sect. (Thus) there are six, with
6 the Mahāsaṃghikā, and yet two more (groups) parted from
the followers of the Thera-doctrine: the Mahīpāsakā and
7 the Vajjiputtaka bhikkhus. And there parted from them
likewise the Dhammuttariyā and the Bhadravānika bhikkhus,
the Chandāgarikā, the Saṃmitī and the Vajjiputtiya bhikkhus.
8 From the Mahīpāsaka bhikkhus two (groups) parted, the
bhikkhus who held by the Sabbattha-school and the Dhamma-
9 guttika bhikkhus. From the Sabbattha sect arose the Kassa-
piyā, from these arose the Saṃkantika bhikkhus, from these
10 last the Sutta sect. These are twelve together with (those
of) the Thera-doctrine; thereto are added the six schools
named and these together are eighteen.
11 Thus in the second century arose seventeen schools, and
12 other schools arose afterwards. The Hemavatā and the

¹ Ācariyavāda stands in contrast to theravāda. This latter is the true and orthodox church community, the other expresses collectively the various sects which arose in the course of time.

² Tehi saṃgītikārehi therehi dutiyehi, lit. 'by those the second council-holding theras'.

³ I.e. the 'Great Community'.

Rājagiriya and likewise the Siddhatthakā, the first Seliya bhikkhu, the other Seliya, and the Vājiriyā: these six ¹³ separated (from the rest) in Jambudīpa, the Dhammaruci and the Sāgaliya separated (from the rest) in the island of Lankā.¹

Here ends the Story of the Ācariya-schools. ✓

The sons of Kūṭāsoka were ten brothers, twenty-two years ¹⁴ did they reign. Afterwards, the nine Nandas ² were kings in ¹⁵ succession; they too reigned twenty-two years.

Then did the brahman Cāpakka ³ anoint a glorious youth, ¹⁶ known by the name Candagutta, as king over all Jambudīpa, ¹⁷ born of a noble clan, the Moriyas, when, filled with bitter hate, he had slain the ninth (Nanda) Dhannananda.

Twenty-four years he reigned, and his son Bindusāra reigned ¹⁸ twenty-eight. A hundred glorious sons and one had Bindu-
sāra; ⁴ Asoka ⁵ stood high above them all in valour, splendour, ¹⁹ might, and wondrous powers. He, when he had slain his ²⁰ ninety-nine brothers born of different mothers, won the undivided sovereignty over all Jambudīpa. Be it known, ²¹ that two hundred and eighteen years had passed from the nibbāna of the Master unto Asoka's consecration.

¹ The Nikāya-saṃgraha (ed. WICKHEMASINGHE, pp. 11th and 13th) informs us that the Dhammaruci branched off from the Theravādins 454 years A. B., and the Sāgaliya from the former 795 years A. B. The former event took place under Vaḷa-gaṃ-bā (Vatthagāmaṇi Abhaya, see Mah. 33, 95 ff.), and the latter under Goṭhābhaya (see Mah. 36, 110 ff.).

² The Mah. Tīkā, pp. 117-119, gives a detailed account of the Nanda dynasty; also Kamb. Mah. V. 953-994.

³ On the Moriya dynasty and on Cāpakka and Candagutta see Mah. Tīkā, pp. 119-123; Kamb. Mah. V. 995-1090. Candragupta's minister, Cāpakya, is also known to play an important part in the Muśīrākṣasa. See SYLVAIN LÉVI, *Le Théâtre Indien*, pp. 226 ff. A work on politics, ascribed to him, the Kauṭīliyaśāstra, still exists. HILLEBRANDT, *Über das Kauṭīliyaśāstra und Verwandtes*. Cp. also I.A. 38, 1909, pp. 257 ff.

⁴ On Bindusāra and on Candagutta's death see Mah. Tīkā, pp. 124, 125; Kamb. Mah. V. 1092-1128.

⁵ On Asoka's birth and early youth, see Mah. Tīkā, pp. 125-128; Kamb. Mah. V. 1129-1198.

- 22 Four years after the famous (Asoka) had won for himself
the undivided sovereignty he consecrated himself as king in
23 the city Pāṭaliputta. Straightway after his consecration his
command spread so far as a yojana (upward) into the air and
downward into the (depths of the) earth.¹
- 24 Day by day did the devas bring eight men's loads of water
of (the lake) Anotatta; the king dealt it out to his people.
25 From the Himalaya did the devas bring for cleansing the
teeth twigs of nāga-creeper, enough for many thousands,
26 healthful fruits, myrobalan and terminalia and mango-
fruits from the same place, perfect in colour, smell, and
27 taste. The spirits of the air² brought garments of five
colours, and yellow stuff for napkins, and also celestial drink
28 from the Chaddanta-lake.³ Out of the nāga-kingdom the
nāgas (brought) stuff, coloured like the jasmine-blossom and
without a seam, and celestial lotus-flowers and collyrium and
29 unguents; parrots brought daily from the Chaddanta-lake
30 ninety thousand waggon-loads of rice.⁴ Mice converted this
rice, unbroken, into grains without husk or powder, and
31 therewith was meal provided for the royal family. Perpetually
did honey-bees prepare honey for him, and in the forges bears
32 swung the hammers. Karavika-birds, graceful and sweet
33 of voice, came and made delightful music for the king. And
being consecrated king, Asoka raised his youngest brother
Tissa, son of his own mother, to the office of vice-regent.

Here ends the Consecration of the pious Asoka.

- 34 (Asoka's) father had shown hospitality to sixty thousand

¹ The sense of this passage, not rightly understood up to the present time, is evidently this: not only men upon the earth but also the spirits of the air and the earth heard and obeyed Asoka's command.

² The marū (Skt. marut) in contrast to the devā in 24.

³ Here follow two spurious verses, 'To die (?) in this city there came gazelles, boars, birds into the kitchens and willingly perished. Leopards were used to take the herds to pasture and lead them to their stalls, gazelles and bears were used to watch over fields, plots, and ponds and so forth.'

⁴ On parrots furnishing hill paddy, see *Jāt.* i, pp. 325¹⁻², 327² foll.; Morris, *J.P.T.S.* 1884, p. 107.

brahmans, versed in the Brahma-doctrine, and in like manner he himself nourished them for three years. But when he 35 saw their want of self-control at the distribution of food he commanded his ministers saying: '(Hereafter) I will give according to my choice.' The shrewd (king) bade (them) 36 bring the followers of the different schools into his presence, tested them in an assembly, and gave them to eat, and sent them thence when he had entertained them.

As he once, standing at the window, saw a peaceful ascetic, 37 the sāmaṇera Nigrodha, passing along the street, he felt kindly toward him. The youth was the son of prince 38 Sumana, the eldest brother of all the sons of Bindusāra.

When Bindusāra had fallen sick Asoka left the govern- 39 ment of Ujjeni conferred on him by his father, and came to Pupphapura,¹ and when he had made himself master of 40 the city, after his father's death, he caused his eldest brother to be slain and took on himself the sovereignty in the splendid city.

The consort of prince Sumana, who bore the same name 41 (Sumanā), being with child, fled straightway by the east gate and went to a caṇḍāla village, and there the guardian 42 god of a nigrodha-tree² called her by her name, built a hut and gave it to her. And as, that very day, she bore a 43 beautiful boy, she gave to her son the name Nigrodha, enjoying the protection of the guardian god. When the 44 headman of the caṇḍālas saw (the mother), he looked on her as his own wife, and kept her seven years with honour. Then, 45 as the thera Mahāvaruṇa saw that the boy bore the signs of his destiny,³ the arahant questioned his mother and ordained 46 him, and even in the room where they shaved him⁴ he

¹ See note to 4. 31. UJJENĪ, Skt. Ujjayīni, now Ujjain in the Gwalior State, Central India, was the old capital of Avanti. RHYSDAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 3 foll.

² Nigrodha = *Ficus Indica*, banyan-tree.

³ Upanissaya includes all those qualities, aptitudes and marks of an individual, which show that he is qualified to attain arahantship.

⁴ The shaving of the hair is one of the ceremonies at the reception of a novice into the order.

attained to the state of arahant. Going thence to visit his
 47 royal mother, he entered the splendid city by the south gate,
 and following the road that led to that village, he passed
 48 (on his way) the king's court. Well pleased was the king by
 his grave bearing, but kindly feeling arose in him also by
 reason of a former life lived together.

49 Now once, in time past, there were three brothers, traders
 in honey; one was used to sell the honey, two to get the
 50 honey. A certain pāccekabuddha was sick of a wound; and
 another pāccekabuddha, who, for his sake, wished for honey,
 51 came even then to the city on his usual way for seeking alms.

A maiden, who was going for water to the river-bank, saw
 52 him. When she knew, from questioning him, that he wished
 for honey, she pointed with hand outstretched and said:
 'Yonder is a honey-store, sir, go thither.'

53 The trader, with believing heart, gave to the buddha who
 came there a bowlful of honey, so that it ran over the edge.

54 As he saw the honey filling (the bowl) and flowing over the
 edge, and streaming down to the ground, he, full of faith,
 55 wished: 'May I, for this gift, come by the undivided sove-
 reignty of Jambudīpa, and may my command reach forth
 a yojana (upward) into the air and (downward) under the earth.

56 To his brothers as they came, he said: 'To a man of such
 and such a kind have I given honey; agree thereto since the
 57 honey is yours also.' The eldest brother said grudgingly:

'It was surely a caṇḍāla, for the caṇḍālas ever clothe them-
 58 selves in yellow garments.' The second said: 'Away with
 thy pāccekabuddha over the sea!' But when they heard his
 promise to let them participate of the reward, they gave their
 59 sanction. Then the (maid who) had pointed out the store
 wished that she might become the royal spouse of the (first),
 and (desired) a lovely form with limbs of perfect outline.¹

60 Asoka was he who gave the honey, the queen Asamdhī-
 mittā was the maid, Nigrodha he who uttered the word
 'caṇḍāla', Tissa he who had wished him away over the sea.²

61 He who had uttered the word 'caṇḍāla' lived (in expiation

¹ Adissamānassamdhī means literally 'with invisible joints'.

² Pāravādī, lit. 'who had spoken of the further shore.'

thereof) in a caṇḍāla village, but because he had desired deliverance, he also, even in the seventh year, attained unto deliverance.¹

The king, in whom kindly feelings had arisen towards that same (Nigrodha), summoned him in all haste into his presence; but he came staidly and calmly thither. And the king said to him: 'Sit, my dear, upon a fitting seat.' Since he saw no other bhikkhu there he approached the royal throne. Then, as he stepped toward the throne, the king thought: 'To-day, this sāmaṇera will be lord in my house!' Leaning on the king's hand he (the monk) mounted the throne and took his seat on the royal throne under the white canopy. And seeing him seated there king Asoka rejoiced greatly that he had honoured him according to his rank.² When he had refreshed him with hard and soft foods prepared for himself he questioned the sāmaṇera concerning the doctrine taught by the Sambuddha. Then the sāmaṇera preached to him the 'Appamāda-vagga'.³

And when the lord of the earth had heard him he was won to the doctrine of the Conqueror, and he said to (Nigrodha): 'My dear, I bestow on thee eight perpetual supplies of food.' And he answered: 'These will I bestow on my master.'

¹ The stop should be put after āsi. Patti hesi refers to the existence as madhuvāṇija. When the eldest brother had transferred the patti ('reward') to his younger brothers each one of them uttered a patthanā, that of the third was mokkha, i.e. the attainment of arahantship.

² Sambhāvetvāna gunato is an allusion to 63. The king leaves it to Nigrodha to choose his own place since he does not know his rank. From the fact of Nigrodha's seating himself on the throne Asoka perceives that a monk of the highest rank is before him, and he rejoices that he did not assign a lower place to him.

³ I.e. the section entitled 'unwearying zeal'. There are eleven minor vaggas in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya, bearing this title, and nine Appamāda-suttas.

⁴ Upajjhāya-sa. Every novice on his entrance into the order chooses an upajjhāya 'a master', and an ācariya 'teacher'. It appears from M.V. I. 25. 6 ff., 32. 1 ff., that there is no difference between the functions of the two. The ācariya seems, according to M.V. I. 32. 1, to be only the deputy or substitute of the upajjhāya.

- 70 When again eight (supplies) were bestowed on him he allotted these to his teacher; and when yet eight more were bestowed
 71 he gave them to the community of bhikkhus. And when yet again eight were bestowed, he, full of understanding, consented to accept them. Together with thirty-two bhikkhus, he went on the following day, and when he had been served by the king with his own hands, and had preached the doctrine to the ruler, he confirmed him with many of his train in the refuges and precepts of duty.¹

Here ends the Visit of the sāmaṇera Nigrodha.

- 73 Thereon the king, with glad faith, doubled day by day (the number) of bhikkhus (receiving bounty), till they were
 74 sixty thousand. Putting aside the sixty thousand teachers of false doctrine,² he bestowed alms perpetually on sixty thousand bhikkhus in his house,
 75 Having commanded costly foods, hard and soft, to be prepared speedily, in order to feast the sixty thousand bhikkhus, and having caused the town to be gaily decked, he went to the brotherhood and bade them to his house; and after he had brought them thither, had bestowed hospitality on them and largely provided them with the things needful
 77 for ascetics,³ he questioned them thus: 'How great is (the content of) the dhamma taught by the Master?' And the therā Moggaliputta-Tissa answered him upon this matter.
 78 When he heard: 'There are eighty-four (thousand) sections of the dhamma,' the king said: 'Each one of them will I honour with a vihāra.'
 79 Then bestowing ninety-six koṭis (of money) in eighty-four
 80 thousand towns, the ruler bade the kings all over the earth

¹ See note to I. 32.

² Tittthiyānaṃ. Those whom his father (according to v. 34) had already supported and whom Asoka did in fact entertain, with certain changes. He now gradually substituted Buddhist monks. Verses 73 and 74 are suspicious, since the Tika does not comment on them.

³ Sāmaṇaka, see note to 4. 28.

begin (to build) vihāras and he himself began to build the Asokārāma.¹

With the grant for the three gems,² for Nigrodha and for the sick, he bestowed in (support of) the faith for each of them a hundred thousand (pieces of money) each day. With the treasure spent for the Buddha the (priests) held thūpa-offerings³ of many kinds continually in many vihāras. With the treasure spent for the dhamma the people continually prepared the four things needful for the use of bhikkhus who were learned in the doctrine. Of the loads of water borne from the Anotatta-lake he bestowed four on the brotherhood, one every day to sixty theras who knew the tipitaka; but one he had commanded to be given to the queen Asandhimittā, while the king himself had but two for his own use. To the sixty thousand bhikkhus and to sixteen thousand women (of the palace), he gave day by day those tooth-sticks called nāga-latā.⁴

When, one day, the monarch heard of the nāga-king Mahākāla of wondrous might, who had beheld four Buddhas, who had lived through one age of the world, he sent for him to be brought (into his presence) fettered with a chain of gold; and when he had brought him and made him sit upon the throne under the white canopy, when he had done homage to him with (gifts of) various flowers, and had bidden the sixteen thousand women (of the palace) to surround him, he (the king) spoke thus: 'Let us behold the (bodily) form of the omniscient Great Sage, of Him who hath boundless knowledge, who hath set rolling the wheel of the true doctrine.' The nāga-king created a beauteous figure of the Buddha, endowed with the thirty-two greater signs and brilliant with the eighty lesser signs (of a Buddha), surrounded by the

¹ The Asoka monastery in the capital Pāṭaliputta.

² Ratanattayaṃ. The three gems are Buddha, dhamma, saṃgha: Buddha, his doctrine and community, see note on 1. 32.

³ Thūpapūjā. The tope (thūpa) is never missing from a Buddhist monastery. Festivals of which a tope is the centre are frequently mentioned in the Mahāvamsa.

⁴ The nāga-creeper. See 5. 25.

fathom-long rays of glory and adorned with the crown of flames.¹

At the sight thereof the king was filled with joy and amazement and thought: 'Even such is the image created by this (Mahākāla), nay then, what (must) the (real) form of the Tathāgata have been!' And he was more and more uplifted with joy, and for seven days without ceasing did he, the great king of wondrous power, keep the great festival called the 'Feast of the eyes'.²

Here ends the Entrance (of Asoka) into the doctrine.

Now the mighty and believing king and then Moggaliputta had already in former times been seen by the holy ones.³

At the time of the Second Council, the theras, looking into the future, saw the downfall of the faith in the time of that king. Looking around in the whole world for one who should be able to stay that downfall, they saw the Brahmā Tissa⁴ who had not long to live (in the Brahmā heaven). To him they went and prayed him, the mighty in wisdom, to bring this downfall to nought by being reborn himself among men. And he granted their prayer, desiring that the doctrine should shine forth in brightness. But to the youthful Siggava and Candavajji the sages spoke thus: 'When a hundred and eighteen years are passed the downfall of the religion will begin. We shall not live to see that (time). You, bhikkhus,

¹ On the signs of a Buddha, see the Lakkhaṇa Suttanta in D. III, p. 142 foll., and GRÜNWEDDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, p. 188 foll.

² Akkhipūjā. It corresponds to our 'consecration'. See Vin. III, 300.

³ Vasthi = 'by those who have the senses under control'. In the Kamb. Mahāv., follows here (vv. 1276-1338) an episode relating to Aśvapālimittā. Asoka puts his consort to the test, she having boasted of merit acquired. He requires of her that she shall provide, between one day and another, robes for the 60,000 monks. With the help of the god Kubera, who remembers the kindness shown by her to the paccekabuddha (see above, vv. 51 foll.), she accomplishes what the king demands of her.

⁴ Tissa, a dweller in the Brahmā heaven.

have had no part in this matter¹ therefore you merit punishment, and your punishment shall be this: that the doctrine 102 may shine forth in brightness, the Brahmā Tissa, mighty in wisdom, will be reborn in the house of the brahman Meggali. As time passes on one of you shall receive the boy into the 103 order, another shall carefully instruct him in the word of the Sambuddha.

There was a *thera* Dāsaka—disciple of the *thera* Upāli. 104 Soṇaka was his (Dāsaka's) disciple, and both those *theras* were disciples of Soṇaka.

In former times there lived in Vesālī a learned brahman 105 named Dāsaka. As the eldest of three hundred disciples he 106 dwelt with his teacher, and at the end of twelve years having come to the end of (studying) the *vedas*, he, going about with the (other) disciples, met the *thera* Upāli, dwelling at the Vālika-monastery, after he had established the sacred 107 word (in council), and sitting down near him he questioned him concerning hard passages in the *vedas*, and the other expounded them to him. 'A doctrine is come after all the 108 doctrines, O brahman, yet all doctrines end in the one doctrine; which is that one?'

Thus spoke the *thera* concerning the name (of the true 109 doctrine), but the young brahman knew it not. He asked: 'What manta is this?' and when the answer was given: 'The manta of the Buddha,' he said: 'Impart it to me,' and the 110 other answered: 'We impart it (only) unto one who wears our robe.'

And he (Dāsaka) asked his teacher and also his father and mother on behalf of that manta.² When he with three 111 hundred young brahmins had received from the *thera* the *pabbajjā* the brahman in time received the *upasampadā*. Then to a thousand (disciples) who had overcome the *āsavas*,³ 112

¹ *Imaṃ adbhikaraṇaṃ*, that is, in the work of the Second Council.

² That is, he asked if he might be permitted to learn it under the condition mentioned.

³ By *khināsavā* in v. 112 (see note on 3. 9) are understood the arhants; by *ariyā* in v. 113, all the Buddha's hearers (*Vibhanga*

- among whom was the therā Dāsaka, did the therā Upāli teach
 113 the whole tipīṭaka. Past reckoning is the number of the
 other Ariyas, and of those who yet stood outside (the religion),
 by whom the piṭakas were learned from the therā.
- 114 In the land of the Kāśī¹ lived the son of a caravan-guide,
 named Sonaka. With his father and mother he had come
 115 trading, to Giribbaja.² He went, youth as he was, fifteen
 years old, into the Veḷuvana³ (monastery); fifty-five young
 brahmans, his companions, came with him.
- 116 When he saw the therā Dāsaka there with his disciples
 around him, faith came to him and he asked him for the
 pabbajjā-ordination. (The therā) said: 'Ask thy teacher.'
- 117 Afterwards, the young Sonaka, having fasted three meal-times
 and won his parents' leave to enter the order, came again,
 118 and then, when he had received from the therā Dāsaka
 the pabbajjā and the upasampadā, together with those other
 119 youths, he learned the three piṭakas. Amid the company of
 the thousand disciples of the therā, who had overcome the
 āsavas, who were versed in the piṭakas, the ascetic Sonaka
 was the foremost.
- 120 In the city that bears the name of the pātali flower⁴ there
 lived the wise Siggava, son of a minister. He, when eighteen
 121 years old and dwelling in three palaces fitted for the three
 seasons of the year, went, in company with his friend
 122 Candavajji, a minister's son, and surrounded by five hundred
 followers, to the Kukkuṭārāma,⁵ and visited the therā Sonaka.
- 123 And when he perceived that (the therā) sat sunk in a trance

372), by puthujjanā the remaining multitude who still stand
 outside the way leading to perfection.

¹ The Kāśis (Skr. kāśī) are one of the sixteen tribes of northern
 India, settled in the district round Benares. Kāśī is also the old
 name of Benares. RHYSDAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 24.

² The old capital of Magadha, Skt. girivraja 'Mountain Strong-
 hold'. It was situated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which
 afterwards Rājagṛha was built. RHYSDAVIDS, *l. c.*, p. 27.

³ I. e. Bamboo-grove.

⁴ I. e. Pāṭaliputta. See note to 4. 31. Pāṭali *Bignonia suave-
 olens*.

⁵ A monastery in Pāṭaliputta. V. A. SMITH, *Asoka*, pp. 133, 193, 194.

with senses restrained¹ and did not answer his greeting, he asked the brotherhood about this matter. They said: 'Those 124 who are deep in a trance give no reply.' (So he asked) 'How come they forth from (the trance)?' And the bhikkhus said: 'At a call from the master, or a call from the brotherhood, or 125 when the allotted time is ended, or at the approach of death they come forth (from the trance).' 126.

As they saw, speaking thus, that these (youths) were destined for holiness,² they caused the call from the brotherhood to be given; and (the *thera*) awoke from the trance and went to them. The youth asked: 'Wherefore didst thou not 127 speak to me, venerable one?' The (*thera*) answered: 'We were enjoying that which is for us to enjoy.' The (young man) said: 'Let us also enjoy this.' He answered: 'Those 128 only can we cause to enjoy it who are like unto us.'

Then, with their parents' leave, the young Siggava and 129 Candavajji and their five hundred followers likewise received the pabbajjā and (afterwards) the upasampadā-ordination from the *thera* Sonaka. With him as their master the two eagerly 130 studied the three piṭakas and attained to the six supernormal powers.³

Thereafter when Siggava knew that Tissa had been born 131 into this world, the *thera*, from that time, frequented his house for seven years. And not for seven years did it befall 132 him to hear the words 'Go further on' (said to him). But in the eighth year did he hear those words 'Go further on', in that house. As he went forth the brahman Moggali, who was 133 even then coming in, saw him and asked him: 'Hast thou received aught in our house?' And he answered: 'Yes.' When (Moggali) went into his house he heard (what had 134 befallen) and when the *thera* came to the house again, on the second day afterwards, he reproached him with the lie. And 135

¹ *Samāpattisamāpannam*. 'There are eight *samāpatti*s, attainments or endowments, which are eight successive states induced by the ecstatic meditation,' CHILDERS, *P.D.* s.v. See SPENCE HARDY, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 170, and *J.P.T.S.*, 1909, p. 61.

² See note to 5. 45.

³ On the six *abhiññā*, see note to 4. 12.

- when he had heard the therā's words the brahman, full of
 136 faith, gave him continual alms of his own food, and little by
 little did all of his household become believers, and the
 brahman continually offered hospitality (to the therā), giving
 him a seat in his house.
- 137 So as time passed the young Tissa gradually came to the
 age of sixteen years and reached the further shore of the
 138 ocean of the three vedas. The therā, thinking that he might
 have speech with him in this way, made all the seats in his
 139 house to vanish, save the seat of the young brahman. Being
 come from the Brahmā-world (this latter) loved cleanliness,
 and therefore were they used to keep his chair hung up for
 better care thereof.¹
- 140 Then the people in the house, finding no other seat, full of
 confusion, since the therā had to stand, prepared the seat
 141 of the young Tissa for him. When the young brahman re-
 turned from his teacher's house and saw (the therā) sitting
 there he fell into anger and spoke to him in unfriendly wise.
- 142 The therā said to him: 'Young man, dost thou know the
 manta?' And the young brahman (for answer) asked him the
 143 same question again. Since the therā replied: 'I know it,' he
 asked him concerning hard passages in the vedas. The therā
 144 expounded them to him; for, when leading the lay life, he
 had already studied the vedas even to the end. How should
 he not be able to expound them since he had mastered the
 four special sciences?²
- 145 'For him whose thought arises and does not perish, thought
 shall perish and not arise (again); but for him whose thought
 shall perish and not arise, thought shall arise (again) and not
 perish.'³

¹ This verse is suspicious; the *Tikā* makes no comment on it.

² *Pabhinnāpatisambhida*, see note to 4. 62.

³ A play on the double meaning of *cittam* and *nirujjhati*.
 Whosoever thinks aright and whose thought does not go astray,
 i. e. whosoever knows the truth, his intellect comes unto *nibbāna*
 never to return again. But on the other hand, he who does not think
 aright and does not follow the true doctrine will enter into a new
 existence and will not reach deliverance.

The wise *thera* asked this question from the (chapter called) 146
Cittayamaka.¹ And it was as the (darkness of) night to the
 other, and he said to him: 'What kind of *manta* is that, 147
O bhikkhu?' 'The *manta* of the Buddha,' answered (the
thera); and when the other said: 'Impart it to me,' he said:
 'I impart it (only) to one who wears our robe.'²

So with the leave of his father and mother (the young man) 148
 received the *pabbajjā*-ordination, for the sake of the *manta*,
 and the *thera*, when he had ordained him, imparted to him
 duly the (method of the) *kammaṭṭhāna*.³ By practice of 149
 meditation this highly gifted man soon won the fruit of *sotā-*
patti,⁴ and when the *thera* was aware of this he sent him to 150
 the *thera Caṇḍavajji* that he might learn the *suttapiṭaka*
 and *abhidhammapiṭaka* of him. And this he learned (from
Caṇḍavajji).

And thereafter the monk *Siggava*, having conferred on him 151
 the *upasampadā*, taught him the *vinaya* and again instructed
 him in the two other (*piṭakas*). When, afterwards, the young 152
Tissa had gained the true insight,⁵ he attained in time to the
 mastery of the six supernatural powers and reached the rank
 of a *thera*. Far and wide shone his renown like the sun and 153
 moon. The world paid heed to his word even as to the word
 of the *Sambuddha*.

Here ends the Story of the *thera Tissa*, the son of *Moggali*.

One day the prince⁶ (*Tissa*) when hunting saw gazelles 154
 sporting joyously in the wild. And at this sight he thought:
 'Even the gazelles sport thus joyously, who feed on grass in 155

¹ I.e. 'The double thought.' The reference is to the *Yamaka*
kappakaraṇa of the *abhidhamma*.

² Cf. 5, 109, 110.

³ *Kammaṭṭhāna* 'The foundations of (right) acting'. By this
 is meant the right method for the practice of meditation. See
 CHILDERS, *P.D.* s. v.

⁴ I.e. the first stage of sanctification. See note to 1. 33.

⁵ The *vipassanā* is one of the signs of the *arahant*. It is tenfold.
 See the details in *AUNG, Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. 65 foll., 180.

⁶ *Uparājā*, viceroy.

the wild. Wherefore are not the bhikkhus joyous and gay, who have their food and dwelling in comfort ?'

156 Returned home he told the king his thought. To teach
him the king handed over to him the government of the
157 kingdom for one week, saying : ' Enjoy, prince, for one week,
my royal state ; then will I put thee to death.' Thus said the
ruler.

158 And when the week was gone by he asked : ' Wherefore art
thou thus wasted away ?' And when (Tissa) answered : ' By
reason of the fear of death,' the king spoke again to him
159 and said : ' Thinking that thou must die when the week was
gone by, thou wast no longer joyous and gay ; how then
can ascetics be joyous and gay, my dear, who think ever
upon death ?'

160 And (Tissa) when his brother spoke thus, was turned toward
faith in the doctrine (of the Buddha). And afterwards when
161 he once went forth hunting, he saw the therā Mahādham-
marakkhita, the self-controlled, sitting at the foot of a tree,
162 and fanned by a cobra with a branch of a sāla-tree. And that
wise (prince) thought : ' When shall I, like this therā, be
ordained in the religion of the Conqueror, and live in the
forest-wilderness ?'

163 When the therā, to convert him, had come thither flying
through the air, standing on the water of the pond in the
164 Asokārāma, he, leaving his goodly garments behind him in the
165 air, plunged into the water and bathed his limbs. And when
the prince saw this marvel he was filled with joyful faith, and
the wise man made this wise resolve : ' This very day will
166 I receive the pabbajjā-ordination.' He went to the king and
respectfully besought him to let him receive the pabbajjā.
Since the king could not turn him from (his resolve) he took
167 him with him and went with a great retinue to the vihāra.
There (the prince) received the pabbajjā from the therā
168 Mahādhammarakkhita and with him four hundred thousand
persons, but the number of those who afterwards were ordained
169 is not known. A nephew of the monarch known by the
name Aggibrahmā was the consort of the king's daughter
170 Saṅghamittā and the son of these two (was) named

Sumana.¹ He (Aggibrahmā) also craved the king's leave and was ordained together with the prince.

The prince's ordination, whence flowed blessing to many 171 folk, was in the fourth year of (the reign of) king Asoka. In 172 the same year he received the upasampadā-ordination, and since his destiny was holiness² the prince, zealously striving, became an arahant, gifted with the six supernormal powers.

All those beautiful vihāras (then) begun they duly finished 173 in all the cities within three years; but, by the miraculous 174 power of the thera Indagutta, who watched over the work, the ārāma named after Asoka was likewise quickly brought to completion. On those spots which the Conqueror himself 175 had visited the monarch built beautiful eetiya's here and there. On every side from the eighty-four thousand cities came letters 176 on one day with the news: 'The vihāras are completed.'

When the great king, great in majesty, in wondrous power 177 and valour, received the letters, he, desiring to hold high festival in all the ārāmas at once, proclaimed in the town 178 with beat of drum: 'On the seventh day from this day shall a festival of all the ārāmas be kept, in every way, in all the provinces. Yojana by yojana on the earth shall great largess 179 be given; the ārāmas in the villages and the streets shall be adorned. In all the vihāras let lavish gifts of every kind be 180 bestowed upon the brotherhood, according to the time and the means (of givers), and adornments, such as garlands of lamps 181 and garlands of flowers, here and there, and all that is meet for festivals,³ with music of every kind, in manifold ways. And all are to take upon themselves the duties of the 182 uposatha-day and hear religious discourse, and offerings of

¹ In my edition of the text the stop should be deleted after *sāmiko* and put after *nūmato*. So *pi* in v. 170 refers to Aggibrahmā.

² He was *sampannaupanissayo*. Cf. note to 5. 45.

³ *Upahāra*. The *Tikā* explains this word thus: *sabbe gandhabbā sakasakaturiyabhayaṃ gahetvā tattha tattha vihāresu gandhabbā va karontū ti attho* 'Let all the minstrels taking each his own instrument of music play in the vihāras everywhere'.

- 183 many kinds must they make on the same day.' And all the people everywhere held religious festivals of every kind, glorious as the world of gods,¹ even as had been commanded and (did) yet more.
- 184 On that day the great king wearing all his adornments with the women of his household, with his ministers and sur-
185 rounded by the multitude of his troops, went to his own ārama, as if cleaving the earth. In the midst of the brotherhood he
186 stood, bowing down to the venerable brotherhood. In the assembly were eighty koṭis of bhikkhus, and among these
187 were a hundred thousand ascetics who had overcome the āsavas. Moreover there were ninety times one hundred thou-
188 sand bhikkhupis, and among these a thousand had overcome the āsavas. These (monks and nuns) wrought the miracle called the 'unveiling of the world' to the end that the king
189 Dhammāsoka might be converted.—Caṇḍāsoka (the wicked Asoka) was he called in earlier times, by reason of his evil deeds; he was known as Dhammāsoka (the pious Asoka) after-
190 wards because of his pious deeds.—He looked around over the (whole) Jambulipa bounded by the ocean and over all the
191 vihāras adorned with the manifold (beauties of) the festival—and with exceeding joy, as he saw them, he asked the brethren, while taking his seat: 'Whose generosity toward the doctrine of the Blessed One was ever (so) great (as mine), venerable sirs?'
- 192 The therā Moggaliputta answered the king's question: 'Even in the lifetime of the Blessed One there was no generous giver like to thee.'
- 193 When the king heard this he rejoiced yet more and asked: 'Nay, then, is there a kinsman of Buddha's religion² like unto me?'
- 194 But the therā perceived the destiny of the king's son

¹ The *Tikā* understands the word *devalekamanoramā* thus, and adds: *nakkhattaghuṭṭhe devanagare devagaṇā viya manussā manoramā mahāpājā paṭiyādesuṃ ti attho*. 'As the multitudes of gods in the celestial city, where festival has been proclaimed, so did men arrange splendid offerings'.

² *Sāsana-dāyāda*: evidently the term is a title of honour.

Mahinda¹ and of his daughter Samghamittā, and foresaw the progress of the doctrine that was to arise from (them), and he, on whom lay the charge of the doctrine, replied thus to the king: 'Even a lavish giver of gifts like to thee is not a kinsman of the religion; giver of wealth² is he called, O ruler of men. But he who lets son or daughter enter the religious order is a kinsman of the religion and withal a giver of gifts.'

Since the monarch would fain become a kinsman of the religion he asked Mahinda and Samghamittā, who stood near: 'Do you wish to receive the pabbajjā, dear ones? The pabbajjā is held to be a great (good).' Then, when they heard their father's words, they said to him: 'This very day we would fain enter the order, if thou, O king, dost wish it; for us, even as for thee, will blessing come of our pabbajjā.'

For already since the time of the prince's (Tissa's) pabbajjā had he resolved to enter the order, and she since (the ordination) of Aggibrahmā.³ Although the monarch wished to confer on Mahinda the dignity of prince-regent, yet did he consent to his ordination with the thought: 'This (last) is the greater dignity.' So he permitted his dear son Mahinda, distinguished (above all others) by intelligence, beauty and strength, and his daughter Samghamittā, to be ordained with all solemnity.⁴

At that time Mahinda, the king's son, was twenty years old, and the king's daughter Samghamittā was then eighteen years old. On the very same day did he receive the pabbajjā and also the upasampadā-ordination, and for her the pabbajjā-ordination and the placing under a teacher⁵ took place on the same day.

The prince's master⁶ was the therā named after Moggali;⁷

¹ See note to 5. 45.

² Paccayadāyaka. On paccaya see note to 3. 14.

³ Cf. 5. 167, 170.

⁴ The *Ṭikā* explains *sa maham* by *sapūjāsakkāram*.

⁵ This was necessary as Samghamittā was not of the prescribed age.

⁶ Upajjhāya, see note to 5. 69.

⁷ That is, Moggaliputtatissa, 'Tissa, the son of Moggali.'

- the pabbajjā-ordination was conferred on him by the therā
 207 Mahādeva, but Majjhantika pronounced the ceremonial words,¹
 and even in the very place where he (received) the upasam-
 padā-ordination this great man reached the state of an arahant
 together with the special kinds of knowledge.²
- 208 The directress of Saṅghamittā was the renowned Dhamma-
 pālā, and her teacher was Ayupālā; in time she became free
 209 from the āsavas. Those two lights of the doctrine, who
 brought great blessing to the island of Lankā, received the
 pabbajjā in the sixth year of king Dhammāsoka. The great
 210 Mahinda, the converter of the island (of Lankā), learned the
 three piṭakas with his master in three years. This bhikkhunī,
 211 even like the new moon, and the bhikkhu Mahinda, like the
 sun, illumined always the sky, the doctrine of the Sambuddha.
 212 Once in time past, a dweller in the forest, who went forth
 into the forest from Pāṭaliputta, loved a wood-nymph named
 213 Kuntī. Owing to the union with him she bore two sons, the
 elder was Tissa and the younger was named Sumitta. After-
 214 wards both received the pabbajjā-ordination from the therā
 Mahāvaruṇa and attained to arahantship and the possession
 of the six supernormal powers.
- 215 (Once) the elder suffered pains in the foot from the poison
 of a venomous insect, and when his younger brother asked
 (what he needed) he told him that a handful of ghee was the
 216 remedy. But the therā set himself against pointing out to
 the king what things needful in sickness,³ and against going
 217 in search of the ghee after the midday meal.⁴ 'If, on thy
 begging-round, thou receivest ghee, bring it to me,' said the
 218 therā Tissa to the excellent therā Sumitta. When he went

¹ Kammavācam akā: i.e. he was president of the chapter when Mahinda was ordained. Kammavācā 'is the name of the proceedings at a kamma or ecclesiastical act, by which some question is decided by vote'. CHILDERS, *P.D.* s.v.

² See note to 5. 144.

³ Gīlhuṇapaccaye is a 'locative of aim', which concurs with the 'final dative' (SPREYER, *Vel. and Skr. Syntax*, para. 81 b), and refers to nivedanam 'informing, announcement'.

⁴ The begging-round of the mendicants must be carried out in the forenoon, according to the rules of the order.

forth on his begging-round he received not one handful of ghee, and (in the meanwhile) the pain had come to such a pass that even a hundred vessels of ghee could not have cured it. And because of that malady the therā was near to death, 219 and when he had exhorted (the other) to strive unceasingly he formed the resolve to pass into nibbāna.

Lifted up in the air as he sat, and winning mastery of his 220 own body by the fire-meditation,¹ according to his own free resolve, he passed into nibbāna. Flames that broke forth 221 from his body consumed the flesh and skin of the therā's whole body,² the bones they did not consume.

When the monarch heard that the therā had died in this 222 wise he went to his own ārāma surrounded by the multitude of his troops. Mounted on an elephant the king brought 223 down the bones,³ and when he had caused due honour to be paid to the relics, he questioned the brotherhood as to (the therā's) illness. Hearing about it he was greatly moved, 224 and had tanks made at the city gates and filled them with remedies for the sick, and day by day he had remedies be- 225 stowed on the congregation of the bhikkhus, thinking: might the bhikkhus never find remedies hard to obtain.

The therā Sumitta passed into nibbāna even when he was 226 walking (in meditation) in the caṅkama-hall,⁴ and by this also was a great multitude of people converted to the doctrine (of the Buddha). Both these theras, the sons of Kuntī, who 227 had wrought a great good in the world, passed into nibbāna in the eighth year of Asoka.

From that time onwards the revenues of the brotherhood 228

¹ Tejojhānavasena. The meditating ascetic concentrates all his thoughts on the concept 'fire' (tejo) which is one of the ten kasiṇāni or divisions of kammaṭṭhāna (see CHILDERS, s.v. kasiṇa, and note to 5.148); the effect is that a fire arises within his body which consumes him.

² Nimmamsasochārikam dahi sakalam kāyam, literally, 'burned the whole body into a fleshless and skinless one.'

³ Which were still floating in the air.

⁴ A caṅkama belongs to each vihāra. It is 'a straight piece of ground cleared and levelled for the purpose of walking up and down upon for exercise and meditation'. See S.B.E. xi, p. 103, n. 1.

were exceeding great, and since those who were converted
 229 later caused the revenues to increase, heretics who had (thereby)
 lost revenue and honour took likewise the yellow robe, for the
 230 sake of revenue, and dwelt together with the bhikkhus. They
 proclaimed their own doctrines as the doctrine of the Buddha
 and carried out their own practices even as they wished.

231 And when the *thera* Moggaliputta, great in firmness of
 soul, saw the coming-out of this exceedingly evil plague-boil
 232 on the doctrine, he, far-seeing, deliberated upon the right time
 to do away with it. And when he had committed his great
 company of bhikkhus to (the direction of) the *thera* Mahinda,
 233 he took up his abode, all alone, further up the Ganges on the
 Ahogaṅga-mountain, and for seven years he gave himself up
 to solitary retreat.

234 By reason of the great number of the heretics and their
 unruliness, the bhikkhus could not restrain them by the law;
 235 and therefore the bhikkhus in Jambudīpa for seven years held
 no uposatha-ceremony nor the ceremony of pavāraṇā in all
 the ārāmas.

236 When the great king, the famed Dhammāsoka, was aware
 of this, he sent a minister to the splendid Asokārāma, laying
 237 on him this command: 'Go, settle this matter and let the
 uposatha-festival be carried out by the community of bhikkhus
 238 in my ārāma.' This fool went thither, and when he had
 called the community of bhikkhus together he announced the
 king's command: 'Carry out the uposatha-festival.'

239 'We hold not the uposatha-festival with heretics,' the
 community of bhikkhus replied to that misguided minister.
 240 The minister struck off the head of several *theras*, one by one,
 with his sword, saying, 'I will force you to hold the uposatha-
 241 festival.' When the king's brother, Tissa, saw that crime he
 came speedily and sat on the seat nearest to the minister.
 242 When the minister saw the *thera* he went to the king and told
 him (the whole matter).

243 When the monarch heard it he was troubled and went with
 all speed and asked the community of bhikkhus, greatly
 disturbed in mind: 'Who, in truth, is guilty of this deed that
 has been done?'

And certain of them answered in their ignorance: 'The guilt 244
is thine,' and others said: 'Both of you are guilty'; but those
who were wise answered: 'Thou art not guilty.'

When the king heard this he said: 'Is there a bhikkhu who 245
is able to set my doubts to rest and to befriend religion?'
'There is the *thera* Tissa, the son of Moggali, O king,' 246
answered the brethren to the king. Then was the king filled
with zeal.

He sent four *theras*, each attended by a thousand bhikkhus 247
and four ministers, each with a thousand followers, that same 248
day, with the charge laid on them by (the king) himself to
bring the *thera* thither; but though they prayed him he
came not.

When the king heard this he sent again eight *theras* and 249
eight ministers each with a thousand followers, but even as
before he came not.

The king asked: 'Nay then, how shall the *thera* come?' 250
The bhikkhus told him how the *thera* could be moved to
come: 'O great king, if they shall say to him, "be our helper, 251
venerable sir, to befriend religion," then will the *thera*
come.'

Again the king sent (messengers) sixteen *theras* and sixteen 252
ministers, each with a thousand followers, laying that (same)
charge upon them, and he said to them: 'Aged as he is, the 253
thera will not enter any wheeled vehicle; bring the *thera* by
ship on the Ganges.'

So they went to him and told him, and hardly had he heard 254
(their message) but he rose up. And they brought the *thera*
in a ship and the king went to meet him. Going down even 255
knee-deep into the water the king respectfully gave his right
hand to the *thera*, as he came down from the ship.¹ The 256

¹ According to Smp. 310, 12 foll. the king had dreamed a dream,
the night before, which the soothsayers interpreted thus, that a
samānāṇa, a great ascetic, would touch his right hand. As the
thera now laid hold of the king's hand the attendants were about to
kill him. For to touch the king's hand was a crime punishable by
death. However, the king restrained them. But the *thera* laid hold
of the king's hand as a sign that he accepted him as his pupil.

venerable *thera* took the king's right hand¹ from compassion toward him, and came down from the ship.

- 257 The king led the *thera* to the pleasure-garden called Rati-
 vajjhana, and when he had washed and anointed his feet and
 258 had seated himself the monarch spoke thus, to test the *thera's*
 259 faculty: 'Sir, I would fain see a miracle.' And to the ques-
 tion which (miracle he desired) he answered: 'An earthquake.'
 And again the other said to him: 'Which wouldst thou see,
 260 of the whole (earth shaken) or only of a single region?' Then
 when he had asked: 'Which is the more difficult?' and heard
 (the reply): 'The shaking of a single region is the more diffi-
 cult,' he declared that he desired to see this last.

- 261 Then within the boundary of a *yojana* (in extent) did the
thera place a waggon, a horse and a man, and a vessel full of
 262 water at the four cardinal points, and over this *yojana* by
 his miraculous power he caused the earth to tremble, together
 with the half of (each of) these (things) and let the king
 seated there behold this.²

- 263 Then the monarch asked the *thera* whether or not he him-
 self shared the guilt of the murder of the *bhikkhus* by the
 264 minister. The *thera* taught the king: 'There is no resulting
 guilt³ without evil intent,' and he recited the *Tittira-jātaka*.⁴

- 265 Abiding a week there in the pleasant royal park he in-
 266 structed the ruler in the lovely religion of the *Sambuddha*. In

¹ Here there is a play on the words *dakkhiṇa* 'right' and *dakkhiṇeyya* 'venerable'.

² The expressions are difficult to render but the sense is clear. On the boundaries of a space measuring a mile in diameter, there were placed at N., S., E., and W. a waggon, a horse, a man, and a vessel full of water. The earthquake was so strictly limited in its action that these objects were affected by the quaking only as to the half on the inner side, the other half remained unmoved.

³ In *paṭiccasakamma* the term *kamma* is employed in the technical sense as the sum of all good and evil deeds that bring of necessity reward or punishment as their result, and if not balanced lead inevitably to a new existence after death. *Paṭicca* means 'following on something, conditioned by something'. The formation of the compound is the same as in *paṭiccasamuppāda*, *paccayākāra*.

⁴ FAUSBÖLL, *Jātaka* III. 64 foll. The Cambodian Mah. inserts here a metrical version of the story.

this same week the monarch sent out two yakkhas and assembled together all the bhikkhus on the earth. On the 267 seventh day he went to his own splendid ārama and arranged an assembly of the community of bhikkhus in its full numbers.

Then seated with the therā on one side behind a curtain the 268 ruler called to him in turn the bhikkhus of the several confessions and asked them: 'Sir, what did the Blessed One 269 teach?' And they each expounded their wrong doctrine, the Sassata-doctrine and so forth.¹ And all these adherents of 270 false doctrine did the king cause to be expelled from the order; those who were expelled were in all sixty thousand. And now 271 he asked the rightly-believing bhikkhus: 'What does the Blessed One teach?' And they answered: 'He teaches the Vibhajja-doctrine.'²

And the monarch asked the therā: 'Sir, does the Sam- 272 buddha (really) teach the Vibhajja-doctrine?' The therā answered: 'Yes.' And when the king knew this he was glad at heart and said: 'Since the community is (henceforth) puri- 273 fied, sir, therefore should the brotherhood hold the uposatha-festival,' and he made the therā guardian of the order and 274 returned to his fair capital; the brotherhood held thenceforth the uposatha-festival in concord.

Out of the great number of the brotherhood of bhikkhus 275 the therā chose a thousand learned bhikkhus, endowed with the six supernormal powers, knowing the three piṭakas and versed in the special sciences,³ to make a compilation of the 276 true doctrine. Together with them did he, in the Asokārāma, make a compilation of the true dhamma.⁴ Even as the therā 277 Mahākassapa and the therā Yasa had held a council so did the therā Tissa. In the midst of this council the therā Tissa set 278

¹ The different diṭṭhiyo or heretical doctrines, reckoned as sixty-two in all, are frequently mentioned in the canonical books, thus in the *Brahmajālasuttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (D. I, 13 foll.).

² CHILDERS (*P. D. s. v. vibhajati*) renders the sense appropriately with 'religion of Logic or Reason'. *Vibhajjavāda* is identical with *theravāda*. KEHN, *Manual*, p. 110.

³ See the notes to 4. 62 and 4. 12.

⁴ *Kāṭum saddhammasaṃgahaṃ*. See note to 3. 17.

- forth the Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa,¹ refuting the other doctrines. Thus was this council under the protection of king Asoka ended by the thousand bhikkhus in nine months.
- 280 In the seventeenth year of the king's reign the wise (thera) who was seventy-two years old, closed the council with a great
- 281 pavāraṇā-ceremony.² And, as if to shout applause to the re-establishment of doctrine, the great earth shook at the close of the council.
- 282 Nay, abandoning the high, the glorious Brahma-heaven and coming down for the sake of the doctrine to the loathsome world of men, he, who had fulfilled his own duty, fulfilled the duties toward the doctrine. Who else verily may neglect duties toward the doctrine?

Here ends the fifth chapter, called 'The Third Council', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ A work of the Abhidhamma. *Kathāvatthu*, ed. by A. C. TAYLOR, vol. i, ii, P.T.S. 1894, 1897.

² See note to 12. 2.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMING OF VIJAYA

In the country of the Vaṅgas¹ in the Vaṅga capital there 1
lived once a king of the Vaṅgas. The daughter of the king
of the Kalingas was that king's consort. By his spouse the 2
king had a daughter, the soothsayers prophesied her union
with the king of beasts. Very fair was she and very amorous 3
and for shame the king and queen could not suffer her.

Alone she went forth from the house, desiring the joy of 4
independent life; unrecognized she joined a caravan travelling
to the Magadha country. In the Lāṭa country a lion attacked 5
the caravan in the forest, the other folk fled this way and that,
but she fled along the way by which the lion had come.

When the lion had taken his prey and was leaving the spot 6
he beheld her from afar, love (for her) laid hold on him, and
he came towards her with waving tail and ears laid back.
Seeing him she bethought her of that prophecy of the sooth- 7
sayers which she had heard, and without fear she caressed him
stroking his limbs.

The lion, roused to fiercest passion by her touch, took her 8
upon his back and bore her with all speed to his cave, and
there he was united with her, and from this union with 9
him the princess in time bore twin-children, a son and a
daughter.

The son's hands and feet were formed like a lion's and there- 10
fore she named him Siḥabāhu, but the daughter (she named)
Siḥasīvali. When he was sixteen years old the son questioned 11
his mother on the doubt (that had arisen in him): 'Where-
fore are you and our father so different, dear mother?' She 12
told him all. Then he asked: 'Why do we not go forth (from
here)?' And she answered: 'Thy father has closed the cave
up with a rock.' Then he took that barrier before the great 13

¹ I.e. Bengal.

cave upon his shoulder and went (a distance of) fifty yojanas going and coming in one day.

- 14 Then (once), when the lion had gone forth in search of prey, (Sihabāhu) took his mother on his right shoulder and his
15 young sister on his left, and went away with speed. They clothed themselves with branches of trees, and so came to a border-village and there, even at that time, was a son of the
16 princess's uncle, a commander in the army of the Vaṅga king, to whom was given the rule over the border-country; and he was just then sitting under a banyan-tree overseeing the work that was done.

- 17 When he saw them he asked them (who they were) and they said: 'We are forest-folk'; the commander bade (his
18 people) give them clothing; and this turned into splendid (garments). He had food offered to them on leaves and by reason of their merit these were turned into dishes of gold.
19 Then, amazed, the commander asked them, 'Who are you?'
20 The princess told him her family and clan. Then the commander took his uncle's daughter with him and went to the capital of the Vaṅgas and married her.

- 21 When the lion, returning in haste to his cave, missed those three (persons), he was sorrowful, and grieving after his
22 son he neither ate nor drank. Seeking for his children he went to the border-village, and every village where he came was deserted by the dwellers therein.

- 23 And the border-folk came to the king and told him this: 'A lion ravages thy country; ward off (this danger) O king!'

- 24 Since he found none who could ward off (this danger) he had a thousand (pieces of money) led about the city on an elephant's back and this proclamation made: 'Let him
25 who brings the lion receive these!' And in like manner the monarch (offered) two thousand and three thousand. Twice
26 did Sihabāhu's¹ mother restrain him. The third time without asking his mother's leave, Sihabāhu took the three thousand gold-pieces (as reward) for slaying his own father.

- 27 They presented the youth to the king, and the king spoke

¹ Sihabhuja in the text (*metri causa*) which means the same as Sihabāhu 'Lion-arm'.

thus to him: 'If thou shalt take the lion I will give thee at once the kingdom.' And he went to the opening of the 28 cave, and as soon as he saw from afar the lion who came forward, for love toward his son, he shot an arrow to slay him.

The arrow struck the lion's forehead but because of his 29 tenderness (toward his son) it rebounded and fell on the earth at the youth's feet. And so it fell out three times, then 30 did the king of beasts grow wrathful and the arrow sent at him struck him and pierced his body.

(Sihabāhu) took the head of the lion with the mane and 31 returned to his city. And just seven days had passed then since the death of the king of the Vāṅgas. Since the king 32 had no son the ministers, who rejoiced over his deed on hearing that he was the king's grandson and on recognizing 33 his mother, met all together and said of one accord to the prince Sihabāhu 'Be thou (our) king'.

And he accepted the kingship but handed it over then to 34 his mother's husband and he himself went with Sthasvali to the land of his birth. There he built a city, and they called 35 it Sihapura, and in the forest stretching a hundred yojanas around he founded villages. In the kingdom of Lāṣa, in that 36 city did Sihabāhu, ruler of men, hold sway when he had made Sthasvali his queen. As time passed on his consort bore twin 37 sons sixteen times, the eldest was named Vijaya, the second 38 Sumitta; together there were thirty-two sons. In time the king consecrated Vijaya as prince-regent.

Vijaya was of evil conduct and his followers were even (like 39 himself), and many intolerable deeds of violence were done by them. Angered by this the people told the matter to the 40 king; the king, speaking persuasively to them, severely blamed his son. But all fell out again as before, the second 41 and yet the third time; and the angered people said to the king: 'Kill thy son.'

Then did the king cause Vijaya and his followers, seven 42 hundred men, to be shaven over half the head¹ and put them 43

¹ The shaving of the hair signifies loss of freedom. In Sinhalese *miḍi* (= Skr. *mūḍita* 'shaven') means 'slave'.

- on a ship and sent them forth upon the sea, and their wives
 44 and children also. The men, women, and children sent
 forth separately landed separately, each (company) upon an
 45 island, and they dwelt even there. The island where the
 children landed was called Naggadīpa¹ and the island where
 46 the women landed Mahilādīpaka.² But Vijaya landed at the
 haven called Suppāraka,³ but being there in danger by reason
 of the violence of his followers he embarked again.
- 47 The prince named VIJAYA, the valiant, landed in Laṅkā, in
 the region called Tambapaṇṇi on the day that the Tathāgata
 lay down between the two twinlike sāla-trees to pass into
 nibbāṇa.

Here ends the sixth chapter, called 'The Coming of Vijaya',
 in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
 of the pious.

¹ That is, 'Island of children,' from *nagga* 'naked'.

² That is, 'Island of women.'

³ Skt. Śūrpāraka, situated on the west coast of India, now Sopāra
 in the Thāna District, north of Bombay. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, s.v.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSECRATING OF VIJAYA

WHEN the Guide of the World, having accomplished the 1
salvation of the whole world and having reached the utmost
stage of blissful rest, was lying on the bed of his nibbāna,
in the midst of the great assembly of gods, he, the great sage, 2
the greatest of those who have speech, spoke to Sakka¹ who
stood there near him: 'Vijaya, son of king Sihabāhu, is come 3
to Laṅkā from the country of Lāḷa, together with seven
hundred followers. In Laṅkā, O lord of gods, will my 4
religion be established, therefore carefully protect him with
his followers and Laṅkā.'

When the lord of gods heard the words of the Tathāgata 5
he from respect handed over the guardianship of Laṅkā to
the god who is in colour like the lotus.²

And no sooner had the god received the charge from 6
Sakka than he came speedily to Laṅkā and sat down at the
foot of a tree in the guise of a wandering ascetic. And all 7
the followers of Vijaya came to him and asked him: 'What
island is this, sir?' 'The island of Laṅkā,' he answered.
'There are no men here, and here no dangers will arise.' 8
And when he had spoken so and sprinkled water on them from
his water-vessel, and had wound a thread about their hands³ 9
he vanished through the air. And there appeared, in the form
of a bitch, a yakkhiṇī who was an attendant (of Kuvannā).⁴

¹ A name of Indra, king of the gods.

² Devaas' uppalavaṇṇassa, that is Viṣṇu. The allusion is to
the colour of the BLUE lotus (uppalā).

³ As a paritta, that is as a protecting charm against the influence
of demons.

⁴ The Tīkā says: Kuvannāya Sisaṇṇāya Sisaṇṇāya paricāri-
kayakkhiṇī. The Cambodian Mah. also gives the same name
Sisaṇṇāya.

10 One (of Vijaya's men) went after her, although he was
 forbidden by the prince (for he thought), 'Only where there
 11 is a village are dogs to be found.' Her mistress, a yakkhiṇī
 named Kuvannū, sat there¹ at the foot of a tree spinning, as
 a woman-hermit might.

12 When the man saw the pond and the woman-hermit sitting
 there, he bathed there and drank and taking young shoots of
 13 lotuses and water in lotus-leaves he came forth again. And
 she said to him: 'Stay! thou art my prey!' Then the man
 14 stood there as if fast bound. But because of the power of
 the magic thread she could not devour him, and though he
 was entreated by the yakkhiṇī, the man would not yield up
 15 the thread. Then the yakkhiṇī seized him, and hurled him
 who cried aloud into a chasm. And there in like manner she
 hurled (all) the seven hundred one by one after him.

16 And when they all did not return fear came on Vijaya;
 armed with the five weapons² he set out, and when he beheld
 17 the beautiful pond, where he saw no footstep of any man
 coming forth, but saw that woman-hermit there, he thought:
 18 'Surely my men have been seized by this woman.' And he
 said to her, 'Lady, hast thou not seen my men?' 'What
 dost thou want with thy people, prince?' she answered.
 'Drink thou and bathe.'

19 Then was it clear to him: 'This is surely a yakkhiṇī, she
 knows my rank,' and swiftly, uttering his name, he came at
 20 her drawing his bow. He caught the yakkhiṇī in the noose
 about the neck, and seizing her hair with his left hand he
 21 lifted his sword in the right and cried: 'Slave! give me
 back my men, or I slay thee!' Then, tormented with fear
 22 the yakkhiṇī prayed him for her life. 'Spare my life, sir,
 I will give thee a kingdom and do thee a woman's service and
 other service as thou wilt.'

23 And that he might not be betrayed he made the yakkhiṇī
 swear an oath, and so soon as the charge was laid on her,
 'Bring hither my men with all speed,' she brought them to

¹ There, that is where Vijaya's man followed the bitch.

² Naddhapañcāyudho. The five weapons are, according to
 CLOUGH, sword, bow, battle-axe, spear, and shield.

that place. When he said, 'These men are hungry,' she 24 showed them rice and other (foods) and goods of every kind that had been in the ships of those traders whom she had devoured.

(Vijaya's) men prepared the rice and the condiments, and 25 when they had first set them before the prince they all ate of them.

¹ When the yakkhiṇī had taken the first portions (of the 26 meal) that Vijaya handed to her, she was well pleased, and assuming the lovely form of a sixteen-year-old maiden she 27 approached the prince adorned with all the ornaments. At the foot of a tree she made a splendid bed, well-covered 28 around with a tent, and adorned with a canopy. And seeing this, the king's son, looking forward to the time to come, took her to him as his spouse and lay (with her) blissfully on 29 that bed; and all his men encamped around the tent.

As the night went on he heard the sounds of music and 30 singing, and asked the yakkhiṇī, who was lying near him: 'What means this noise?' And the yakkhiṇī thought: 'I 31 will bestow kingship on my lord and all the yakkhas must be slain, for (else) the yakkhas will slay me, for it was through me that men have taken up their dwelling (in Laṅkā).'²

And she said to the prince: 'Here there is a yakkha-city 32 called Sirisavatthu; the daughter of the chief of the yakkhas ³ 33 who dwells in the city of Laṅkā has been brought hither, and her mother too is come.⁴ And for the wedding there is 34 high festival, lasting seven days; therefore there is this noise, for a great multitude is gathered together. Even to-day 35

¹ Instead of verses 26-84 the later (Sinhalese) recension has a somewhat divergent reading, the text of which is printed in my edition, p. 326 foll. Appendix A. Cf. *Ibid.*, *Introd.*, p. xxxiv.

² To *manussāvāsakāraṇā* 'because of (my) bringing about a settlement of men', the *Ṭikā* adds the words *imasmim dīpe* 'in this island'.

³ *Lit.* 'of the eldest yakkha.'

⁴ The *Ṭikā* calls the bride's father Mahākūlasena, the bride Polamittā, the mother Gopā. The names Kūlasena and Polamittā occur also in the *Kamb. Mah.*

do thou destroy the yakkhas, for afterwards it will no longer be possible.'

He replied: 'How can I slay the yakkhas who are invisible?' 'Wheresoever they may be,' she said, 'I will utter cries, and where thou shalt hear that sound, strike! and by my magic power shall thy weapon fall upon their bodies.'

Since he listened to her and did even (as she said) he slew all the yakkhas, and when he had fought victoriously he himself put on the garments of the yakkha-king and bestowed the other raiment on one and another of his followers.

When he had spent some days at that spot he went to Tambapañni. There Vijaya founded the city of Tambapañni and dwelt there, together with the yakkhiñī, surrounded by his ministers.

When those who were commanded by Vijaya landed from their ship, they sat down wearied, resting their hands upon the ground—and since their hands were reddened by touching the dust of the red earth¹ that region and also the island were (named) Tambapañni.² But the king Sihabāhu, since he had slain the lion (was called) Sihala and, by reason of the ties between him and them, all those (followers of Vijaya) were also (called) Sihala.

Here and there did Vijaya's ministers found villages. Anurādhagāma was built by a man of that name near the Kadamba river;³ the chaplain Upatissa built Upatissagāma⁴ on the bank of the Gambhīra river, to the north of Anurādhagāma. Three other ministers built, each for himself, Ujjeni, Uruvelā, and the city of Vijita.⁵

¹ The soil of Ceylon is composed of laterit which crumbles into a red dust.

² A play on the word *tambapāṇi*, red hand.

³ Now Malwatte-oya which flows by the ruins of Anurādhapura.

⁴ This is probably to be sought on one of the right-bank tributaries of the lower Malwatte-oya. According to *Muh.* 28. 7 the Gambhīra-nadi flows 1 yojana (i. e. 7-8 miles) north of Anurādhapura.

⁵ According to tradition the remains of the city of Vijita exist as those ruins which lie not far from the *Kala-wawa* (Kālavāpi) about 24 miles south of Anurādhapura in the jungle. TENNENT, *Ceylon*, II, p. 602 foll. I think the tradition is right, although PARKER

When they had founded settlements in the land the ministers 46
all came together and spoke thus to the prince: 'Sire, consent
to be consecrated as king.' But, in spite of their demand, 47
the prince refused the consecration, unless a maiden of a noble
house were consecrated as queen (at the same time).

But the ministers, whose minds were eagerly bent upon the 48
consecrating of their lord, and who, although the means
were difficult, had overcome all anxious fears about the matter, 49
sent people, entrusted with many precious gifts, jewels, pearls,
and so forth, to the city of Madhurā¹ in southern (India), to 50
woo the daughter of the Pandu king for their lord, devoted
(as they were) to their ruler; and they also (sent to woo)
the daughters of others for the ministers and retainers.

When the messengers were quickly come by ship to the 51
city of Madhurā they laid the gifts and letter before the king.
The king took counsel with his ministers, and since he was 52
minded to send his daughter (to Laṅkā) he, having first
received also daughters of others for the ministers (of Vijaya), 53
nigh upon a hundred maidens, proclaimed with beat of drum:
'Those men here who are willing to let a daughter depart for
Laṅkā shall provide their daughters with a double store of 54
clothing and place them at the doors of their houses. By this
sign shall we (know that we may) take them to ourselves.'

When he had thus obtained many maidens and had given 55
compensation to their families, he sent his daughter, bedecked
with all her ornaments, and all that was needful for the
journey,² and all the maidens whom he had fitted out, accord- 56
ing to their rank, elephants withal and horses and waggons,
worthy of a king, and craftsmen and a thousand families of 57
the eighteen guilds, entrusted with a letter to the con-
queror Vijaya. All this multitude of men disembarked at 58

Ancient Ceylon, p. 237 foll., identifies Vijitapura with a suburb of Polannaruwa mentioned in the twelfth century A.D. As to the site of Uruvelā see 28. 36 and note.

¹ Now Madura, in the south of the Madras Presidency.

² The Tīkā explains *sapariicchadam* by *paribhogabhaṇḍikam samakutaṭṭhapaśādhaniyam vā*. Cf. Skt. *pariicchada*.

Mahātitttha; for that very reason is that landing-place known as Mahātitttha.¹

- 59 Vijaya had one son and one daughter by the yakkhiṇī; when he now heard that the princess had arrived he said to
 60 the yakkhiṇī: 'Go thou now, dear one, leaving the two children behind; men are ever in fear of superhuman beings.'
 61 But when she heard this she was seized with fear of the yakkhas; then he said (again) to the yakkhiṇī: 'Delay not! I will bestow on thee an offering² by (spending)
 62 a thousand (pieces of money).'³ When she had again and again besought him (in vain) she took her two children and departed for Laṅkāpura, though fearing that evil should come of it.
 63 She set the children down outside and went, herself, into that city. When the yakkhas in the city recognized the
 64 yakkhiṇī, in their terror they took her for a spy and there was great stir among them; but one who was violent killed the yakkhiṇī with a single blow of his fist.
 65 But her uncle, on the mother's side, a yakkha, went forth from the city and when he saw the children he asked them:
 66 'Whose children are you?' and hearing that they were Kuvassa's he said: 'Here has your mother been slain, and they will slay you also if they see you: (therefore) flee swiftly!'
 67 Fleeing with speed they went from thence to the Sumana-kūṭa.⁴ The brother, the elder of the two, when he grew up
 68 took his sister, the younger, for his wife, and multiplying with sons and daughters, they dwelt, with the king's leave, there in Malaya.⁵ From these are sprung the Pulindā.⁶

¹ I. e. 'the great landing-place'; now Mantota opposite the island Manaar.

² Since Kuvassa is a yakkhiṇī, she must receive like the devatās a *bali* or religious offering, oblation.

³ I. e. Adam's Peak.

⁴ The central mountain-region in the interior of Ceylon.

⁵ Pulindā, a designation of barbarous tribes, is here evidently a name of the Waddās. The tract of country inland between Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and the mountains is now called Saharagamuwa from Skt. śābara; p. savāra, a synonym of pulinda.

The envoys of the Paṇḍu king delivered up to the prince 69
Vijaya the gifts and the (maidens) with the king's daughter at
their head. When Vijaya had offered hospitality and bestowed 70
honours on the envoys he bestowed the maidens, according to
their rank, upon his ministers and retainers. According to 71
custom the ministers in full assembly consecrated Vijaya king
and appointed a great festival.

Then king Vijaya consecrated the daughter of the Paṇḍu 72
king with solemn ceremony as his queen; he bestowed wealth 73
on his ministers, and every year he sent to his wife's father a
shell-pearl worth twice a hundred thousand (pieces of money).

When he had forsaken his former evil way of life, Vijaya, 74
the lord of men, ruling over all Laṅkā in peace and right-
eousness reigned, as is known, in the city of Tambapanni,
thirty-eight years.

Here ends the seventh chapter, called 'The Consecrating of
Vijaya', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy
and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSECRATING OF PAṆḌUVĀSUDEVA

- 1 THE great king Vijaya, being in the last year (of his life),
bethought him: 'I am old and there lives no son of mine.
2 The kingdom peopled with (such great) difficulty may come
to naught after my death; therefore would I fain have my
brother Sumitta brought here (that I may give) the govern-
3 ment (into his hands).' When he had taken counsel with his
ministers he sent a letter to him, and within a short time
after Vijaya had sent the letter he passed away to the
celestial world.
- 4 When he was dead the ministers ruled, dwelling in Upatissa-
5 gāma while they awaited the coming of the prince. After
the death of king Vijaya and before the coming of the prince
was our island of Laṅkā kingless for a year.
- 6 In Sihapura, after the death of king Sihabāhu, his son
7 Sumitta was king; he had three sons by the daughter of the
Madda¹ king. The messengers coming to Sihapura handed
8 the letter to the king. When he had heard the letter the king
spoke thus to his three sons: 'I am old, dear ones; one
9 of you must depart for the greatly favoured and beauteous
Laṅkā belonging to my brother, and there, after his death,
assume (the sovereignty of) that fair kingdom.'
- 10 The king's youngest son, the prince Paṇḍuvāsudeva,
thought: 'I will go thither.' And when he had assured himself
11 of the success of his journey² and empowered by his father, he
took with him thirty-two sons of ministers and embarked
12 (with them) in the disguise of mendicant monks. They landed

¹ Madda = Skt. Madra, now Madras.

² *Ātva sothim gatimhi ca* (by asking the soothsayers). *Tikā*:
nemittikavacaneneva jānitvā 'knowing from the word of the
soothsayers'.

at the mouth of the Mahākandara¹ river; when the people saw these mendicant monks they received them with due respect.

When they had inquired about the capital, they arrived 13 gradually approaching (the city), at Upatissagāma, protected by the devatās. Now a minister there, charged by the 14 (other) ministers, had questioned a soothsayer concerning the coming of the prince, and he had furthermore² foretold him: 'Just on the seventh day will the prince come and one who 15 shall spring of his house shall establish (here) the religion of the Buddha.' Now when the ministers saw the mendicant monks 16 arrive there, just on the seventh day, and inquiring into the matter recognized them, they entrusted Paṇḍuvāsudeva with 17 the sovereignty of Laṅkā; but since he lacked a consort he did not yet receive the solemn consecration.

A son of the Sakka Amitodana was the Sakka Paṇḍu. 18 Since he heard that the Sakyas would (shortly) be destroyed³ he took his followers with him and went to another tract of 19 land on the further side of the Ganges and founded a city there and ruled there as king. He had seven sons.

His youngest daughter was called Bhaddakaccānā. She 20 was (even as) a woman made of gold,⁴ fair of form and eagerly wooed. For (love of) her did seven kings send precious gifts 21 to the king (Paṇḍu), but for fear of the kings, and since he was told (by soothsayers) that an auspicious journey would 22

¹ Not identified. Probably one of the rivers falling into the sea north of Maṇṇar.

² That is, besides the fact of Paṇḍuvāsudeva's coming he had foretold the details that follow.

³ The Sakyas were annihilated in war by the Kosala king Viṇḍubha, shortly before the death of the Buddha; see RIEYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 11. This catastrophe is foretold to Paṇḍu by soothsayers. Tikkā: Viṇḍubhahayuddhato puretaram eva nemittikavacanneva Sakyānaṃ bhavitabham vināsam jānitvā ti attho 'Since he knew, even before the war with Viṇḍubha, by the word of the soothsayers the future destruction of the Sakyas'.

⁴ The golden colour of the skin always, in Sinhalese poems, counts for a mark of particular beauty. *Kusajāt* 179: ran-ruwak kara-geṇa. As a designation of beautiful women ran-liya 'golden creeper' is employed at *Saḷalhiṇṇisaṇḍesa* 55; *Kusajāt* 557.

come to pass, nay, one with the result of royal consecration, he placed his daughter speedily upon a ship, together with
 23 thirty-two women-friends, and launched the ship upon the Ganges, saying: 'Whosoever can, let him take my daughter.' And they could not overtake her, but the ship fared swiftly thence.

24 Already on the second day they reached the haven called
 25 Gopagāmaka¹ and there they landed robed like nuns. When they had inquired about the capital, they arrived gradually approaching (the city), at Upatissagāma, protected by the devatās.²

26 One of the ministers who had heard the saying of a soothsayer, saw the women come, and inquiring into the
 27 matter recognized them and brought them to the king. So his ministers, full of pious understanding, consecrated as their king PAṆḌUVĀSUDEVA, whose every wish was fulfilled.

28 When he had consecrated Subhaddakaccēnā, of noble stature, as his own queen, and had given those (maidens) who had arrived with her to the followers who had come with him, the monarch lived happily.

Here ends the eighth chapter, called 'The Consecrating of Paṇḍuvāsudeva', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ At the mouth of the Mahākandara-nadī. Cf. 8. 12.

² The wording is exactly like v. 13, in order to lay stress on the parallel in the proceedings. In the same way v. 26 is based on vv. 14 and 16.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONSECRATING OF ABHAYA

THE queen bore ten sons and one daughter: the eldest of 1
all was named Abhaya, the youngest (child, the) daughter was
named Cittā. When the brahmins skilled in sacred texts saw 2
her they foretold: 'For the sake of sovereignty will her son
slay his uncles.' When the brothers resolved: 'let us kill our 3
young sister,' Abhaya restrained them.

In due time they lodged her in a chamber having but
one pillar, and the entry thereto they made through the 4
king's sleeping-chamber; and within they placed a serving-
woman, and a hundred soldiers without. But since she 5
(Cittā) drove men mad by the mere sight of her beauty, the
name given to her was lengthened by an epithet 'Ummā-
dacittā'.¹

When they heard of the coming of the princess Bhadda- 6
kaccānā to Laṅkā her brothers also,² except one, urged by
their mother, departed thither.

When on arriving they had visited the ruler of Laṅkā, 7
Paṇḍuvāsudeva and their youngest sister too and had lamented
with her,³ they, hospitably received by the king and having 8
the king's leave, went about the island of Laṅkā and took up
their abode whosoever it pleased them.⁴

The place where Rāma settled is called Rāmagṛāma, the 9
settlements of Uruvela and Anurādha (are called) by their
names, and the settlements of Vijita, Dighāyu, and Rohaṇa 10
are named Vijitagāma, Dighāyu, and Rohaṇa.⁵ Anurādha 11

¹ The allusion is to *ummādeti* 'makes mad'.

² *Puttā*, literally: 'the sons,' that is, of the Sakya Paṇḍu.

³ Probably over the fate of *Ummādacittā*.

⁴ *Carimeu* belongs to *cārikam* and *nivāsam* both.

⁵ Cf. 7. 43 foll. where the names *Anurādha*, *Uruvela*, and *Vijita* also
appear. Evidently we have to do with a different tradition as to the
foundation of the same cities.

built a tank and when he had built a palace to the south of
 12 this, he took up his abode there. Afterwards the great king
 Paṇḍuvāsudeva consecrated his eldest son Abhaya as vice-
 regent.

13 When the son of prince Dīghāyu, Dīghagāmaṇi, heard of
 14 Ummādacittā he went, driven by longing for her, to Upatissa-
 gāma, and there sought out the ruler of the land. And this
 (latter) appointed him together with the vice-regent, to
 service at the royal court.

15 Now (once) Cittā saw Gāmaṇi in the place where he stood
 opposite her window, and, her heart on fire with love, she
 16 asked her serving-woman: 'Who is that?' When she heard:
 'He is the son of thy uncle,' she trusted the matter to her
 17 attendant and he, being in league with her, fastened a hook-
 ladder to the window in the night,¹ climbed up, broke the
 window and so came in.

18 So he had intercourse with her and did not go forth till
 break of day. And he returned there constantly, nor was he
 discovered, for there was no entry (to the chamber).

19 And she became with child by him, and when the fruit of
 her womb was ripe the serving-woman told her mother, and
 20 the mother, having questioned her daughter, told the king.
 The king took counsel with his sons and said: 'He too² must
 be received among us; let us give her (in marriage) to him.'
 21 And saying: 'If it is a son we will slay him'; they gave
 her to him.

But she, when the time of her delivery was come near,
 22 went to the lying-in-chamber. And thinking: 'These were
 accomplices in the matter,' the princes, from fear, did to death
 23 the herdsman Cittā and the slave Kūjavela, attendants on
 Gāmaṇi, since they would make no promise.³ They were

¹ Gavakkhamhi jāsūpetvā rattim kakkatayantakam, lit.
 'making a crab-machine to bite on to the window'. For explanation
 of this passage see Mah. ed., introd., p. xxvi.

² So pi, namely, Dīghagāmaṇi.

³ Patihham adento, that is, they would not fall in with the
 design of the brothers to kill the boy who might perhaps come into
 the world. Cf. Mah. ed., introd., p. xvi.

reborn as yakkhas and both kept guard over the child in the mother's womb. And Cittā made her attendant find another 24 woman who was near her delivery. And Cittā bore a son but this woman bore a daughter. Cittā caused a thousand (pieces 25 of money) to be handed over to (the other) together with her own son, and the latter's daughter to be then brought to her and laid beside her. When the king's sons heard 'a daughter 26 is born', they were well pleased; but the two, mother and grandmother, joining the names of the grandfather and the 27 eldest uncle gave the boy the name Paṇḍukābhaya.

The ruler of Laṅkā, Paṇḍuvāsudeva, reigned thirty years. 28 When Paṇḍukābhaya was born, he died.

When the ruler was dead, the king's sons all assembled 29 together and held the great festival of consecration of their brother, the safety-giving ABHAYA.¹

Here ends the ninth chapter, called 'The Consecrating of Abhaya', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ A play on the word abhaya 'the fearless', and abhayada 'bestowing fearlessness, freedom from danger, or security'.

CHAPTER X

THE CONSECRATING OF PAṆDUKĀBHAYA

- 1 (As) commanded by Ummādacittā the serving-woman took the boy, laid him in a basket and went with him to Dvāramāṇḍalaka.¹
- 2 When the princes, who had gone a-hunting in the Tumbara forest saw the serving-woman they asked her: 'Where art thou going? What is that?' She answered: 'I am going to Dvāramāṇḍalaka; that is a sweet cake for my daughter.'
- 3 The princes said to her: 'Take it out.' Then Citta and Kāṇḍaveśa who had come forth to protect (the boy) caused a
- 4 great boar to appear at that moment. The princes pursued him; but she took (the boy) and went thither and gave the boy and a thousand (pieces of money) secretly to a certain
- 5 man who was entrusted (with the matter). On that very day his wife bore a son, and he, declaring: 'My wife has borne twin sons,' reared that boy (with his own).
- 6 The (boy) was already seven years old when his uncles found out (where he was) and charged followers of theirs to kill (with
- 7 him) the boys playing in a certain pond. Now the boy was used to hide, by diving, in a certain hollow tree standing in the water and having the mouth of the hollow hidden under
- 8 water, entering by the hollow, and when he had stayed long within he would come forth in the same way, and being again among the other boys, however much they questioned him, he would mislead them with evasive words.
- 9 On the day the (princes') people came² the boy with his clothes on dived into the water and stayed hidden in
- 10 the hollow tree. When those men had counted the clothes and
- 11

¹ According to Mah. 23. 23 the village is situated near the Cetiya-mountain (Mihintale), east of Anurādhapura.

² See Mah. ed., *Introd.*, p. liii.

killed the other boys they went away and declared: 'The boys have all been killed!' When they were gone that (boy) went 12 to his foster-father's¹ house, and comforted by him he lived on there to the age of twelve years.

When his uncles again heard that the boy was alive they 13 charged (their followers) to kill all the herdsmen. Just on 14 that day the herdsmen had taken a deer and sent the boy into the village to bring fire. He went home, but sent his foster- 15 father's son out saying: 'I am footsore, take thou fire for the herdsmen; then thou too wilt have some of the roast to eat.' 16 Hearing those words he took fire to the herdsmen: and at 17 that moment those (men) despatched to do it surrounded the herdsmen and killed them all, and when they had killed them they (went and) told (the boy's) uncles.

Then, when he was sixteen years old, his uncles discovered 18 him; his mother sent him a thousand (pieces of money) and a command to bring him to (a place of) safety.² His foster- 19 father told him all his mother's message, and giving him a slave and the thousand (pieces of money) he sent him to Paṇḍula. The brahman named Paṇḍula, a rich man and learned 20 in the vedas, dwelt in the southern district in (the village) Paṇḍulagāmakā. The prince went thither and sought out the 21 brahman Paṇḍula. When this latter had asked him: 'Art thou Paṇḍukābhaya, my dear?' and was answered 'Yes', he 22 paid him honour (as a guest) and said: 'Thou wilt be king, and full seventy years wilt thou rule; learn the art,³ my dear!' 23 and he instructed him, and by his son Canda⁴ also that art was mastered in a short time.

He gave him a hundred thousand (pieces of money) to enrol 24 soldiers and when five hundred men had been enrolled by him (he said): 'The (woman) at whose touch leaves turn to gold 25

¹ Āyutta or Āyuttaka 'the man entrusted (with the bringing-up)'.

² Tassa rakkhamaṃ cādasi, lit. 'and disposed (or commanded) his protection'.

³ Sippaṃ nggaṇṇa, in this case 'the art' is the knowledge needed by a reigning prince.

⁴ Candana cassa puttana belongs, according to the Tika, to sippaṃ samāpitam.

- 26 make thou thy queen, and my son Canda thy chaplain.' When
 he had thus said and given him money he sent him forth from
 thence with his soldiers. Proclaiming his name he, the
 27 virtuous prince, fared forth and when in the city of Paṇa near
 the Kāsa-mountain¹ he had gathered together seven hundred
 28 followers and provision for all, he went thence, followed by
 one thousand two hundred men to the mountain called Giri-
 kaṇḍa.
- 29 An uncle of Paṇḍukābhaya, named Girikaṇḍasiva, drew his
 revenues from this district that Paṇḍuvāsudeva had handed
 30 over to him. This prince was even then on the point of reap-
 ing (a field) measuring a hundred karṣas; his daughter was
 31 the beautiful princess named Pālī. And she, with a great
 retinue, had mounted her splendid waggon, and came bring-
 32 ing food for her father and for the reapers. The prince's
 men, who saw the princess there, told the prince (about
 33 her); the prince coming thither in haste and dividing her
 followers into two bands, drove his own waggon, followed
 by his men, near her and asked: 'Where art thou going?'
 34 And when she had told him all the prince, whose heart was
 fired with love, asked for a share of the food.
- 35 She stepped down from the waggon and, at the foot of a
 banyan-tree, she offered the prince food in a golden bowl.
 36 Then she took banyan-leaves to entertain the rest of the people
 (with food) and in an instant the leaves were changed into
 37 golden vessels. When the prince saw this and remembered the
 brahman's words he was glad (thinking): 'I have found the
 38 maiden who is worthy to be made queen.' So she entertained
 them all, but yet the food became not less; it seemed that but
 39 one man's portion had been taken away. Thus from that
 time onward that youthful princess who was so rich in virtues
 and merit was called by the name Suvannapālī.
- 40 And the prince took the maiden and mounted his waggon
 and fared onward, fearless and surrounded by a mighty army.

¹ Probably near the modern Kahagalagara 'village of the
 Kaha mountain', about 18 miles SE. from Anurādhapura, and
 10 miles WNW. from the mountain Ritiṅgala. See also 25, 50, and
 the Appendix C on Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns.

When her father heard this he despatched all his soldiers, and 41
they came and gave battle and returned, defeated by the 42
others; at that place (afterwards) a village was built called
Kalahanagara.¹ When her five brothers heard this they (also)
departed to make war. And all those did Canda the son of 43
Paṇḍula slay; Lohitavāhakhaṇḍa² was their battle-field.

With a great host Paṇḍukābhaya marched from thence to 44
the further shore of the Gaṅgā³ toward the Doḷa-mountain.
Here he sojourned four years. When his uncles heard that he 45
was there they marched thither, leaving the king behind, to
do battle with him. When they had made a fortified camp 46
near the Dhūmarakkha-mountain they fought a battle with
their nephew. But the nephew pursued the uncles to this side 47
of the river, and having defeated them in flight he held their
fortified camp for two years.

And they went to Upatissagāma and told all this to the 48
king. And the king sent the prince a letter together with a
thousand (pieces of money) saying: 'Keep thou possession of 49
the land on the further shore, but come not over to this shore.'
When the nine brothers heard of this they were wroth with
the king and said: 'Long hast thou been, in truth, a helper 50
to him! Now dost thou give him the kingdom. For that we
will put thee to death.' He yielded up the government to 51
them, and with one accord they appointed their brother named
Tissa to be regent.

This safety-giving Abhaya⁴ had reigned as king in Upatis- 52
sagāma twenty years.

Now a yakkhiṇī named Cetiya, who dwelt on the Dhūma- 53

¹ I.e. Battle-town. A Kalahagala lies to the south of Mineri-Tank (Maṇihira), not far from the left bank of the Ambaganga, which flows into the Mahaweliganga lower down. *Census of Ceylon*, 1901, iv, pp. 408-469.

² Lit. perhaps 'Field of the stream of blood'.

³ I.e. Mahāgaṅgā, now Mahaweliganga. Pāraṅgā means, from the standpoint of the narrator (at Anurādhapura), the right, oragaṅgā 'this side', the left bank of the Mahaweliganga. As to the Doḷapabbata (now Doḷagal-wela), see Appendix C.

⁴ See note to 9. 29.

rakkha-mountain¹ near the pond (called) Tumbariyaṅgaṇa, used to wander about in the form of a mare.

54 And once a certain man saw this beautiful (mare) with her white body and red feet and told the prince: 'Here is a mare whose appearance is thus and so—'

55 The prince took a noose and came to capture her. When she saw him coming up behind her she fled for fear of his majestic

56 aspect. She fled without rendering herself invisible and he pursued her swiftly as she fled. Seven times in her flight she

57 circled round the pond, and plunging into the Mahāgaṅgā and climbing forth again to the shore she fled seven times around

58 the Dhūmarakkha-mountain; and yet three times more she circled round the pond and plunged yet again in the Gaṅgā

59 near the Kacchaka-ford,² but there he seized her by the mane and (grasped) a palm-leaf that was floating down the stream;

60 by the effect of his merit this turned into a great sword. He thrust at her with the sword, crying: 'I will slay thee.' And she said to him: 'I will conquer the kingdom and give it to

61 thee, lord! Slay me not!'

Then he seized her by the neck and boring her nostrils with the point of his sword he secured her thus with a rope; but she followed wheresoever he would.

62 When the mighty (hero) had gone to the Dhūmarakkha-mountain, bestriding the mare, he dwelt there on the Dhūma-

63 rakkha-mountain four years. And having marched thence with his force and come to the Ariṭṭha-mountain³ he sojourned there seven years awaiting a fit time to make war.

64 Eight of his uncles, leaving two behind,⁴ drew near to the

65 Ariṭṭha-mountain in battle array, and when they had laid out a fortified camp near a small city and had placed a commander at the head they surrounded the Ariṭṭha-mountain on every

side.

¹ According to v. 62 foll. not far from the Kacchakatiṭṭha (see note to v. 58), on the left bank of the Mahaweliganga. The Dhūmarakkhapabbata is also mentioned, Mah. 37. 203 (= 163 of the Colombo edition ii).

² Cf. 23. 17 and 25. 12. Now Mahagantōṭa, a ford below the place where Ambanganga and Mahaweliganga join. See note to 35. 58.

³ Now Ritigala, North-Central Province, north of Habarana.

⁴ Namely, Abhaya and Girikanḍasiva.

After speech with the yakkhiṇī, the prince, according to 66
 her cunning counsel, sent in advance a company of his soldiers
 taking with them kingly apparel and weapons as presents and
 the message: 'Take all this; I will make peace with you.' 67
 But as they were lulled to security thinking: 'We will take 68
 him prisoner if he comes,' he mounted the yakkha-mare and
 went forth to battle at the head of a great host. The 69
 yakkhiṇī neighed full loudly and his army, inside and outside
 (the camp) ¹ raised a mighty battle-cry. The prince's men 70
 killed all the soldiers of the enemy's army and the eight
 uncles with them, and they raised a pyramid of skulls. The 71
 commander escaped and fled (for safety) to a thicket; that
 (same thicket) is therefore called Senāpatigumbaka. When 72
 the prince saw the pyramid of skulls, where the skulls of his
 uncles lay uppermost, he said: "'Tis like a heap of gourds';
 and therefore they named (the place) Lābugūmaka.²

When he was thus left victor in battle, Paṇḍukābhaya 73
 went thence to the dwelling-place of his great-uncle Anurādha.
 The great-uncle handed over his palace to him and built 74
 himself a dwelling elsewhere; but he dwelt in his house.
 When he had inquired of a soothsayer who was versed in the 75
 knowledge of (fitting) sites, he founded the capital, even near
 that village. Since it had served as dwelling to two Anurādhās, 76
 it was called Anurādhapura, and also because it was founded
 under the constellation Anurādha. When he had caused the 77
 (state) parasol of his uncles to be brought and purified in
 a natural pond that is here,³ PAṆḌUKĀBHAYA kept it for
 himself and with the water of that same pond he solemnized 78
 his own consecration; and Suvannapālī, his spouse, he con-
 secrated queen. On the young Canda, even as he had agreed, 79

¹ I.e. the soldiers he had sent in advance into the enemy's camp and the army approaching now with him.

² I.e. 'Village of Gourds.' Even now we find on the map, to the north-west of the Ritigala, a place called Labunoruwa = p. lābunagaraka. Cf. *Return of Architectural and Archaeological Remains ... existing in Ceylon*, 1890, p. 76; *Census of Ceylon*, 1901, vol. iv, p. 464.

³ Idha, i.e. in Anurādhapura, the residence of the chronicler.

he conferred the office of his chaplain and other appointments on his other followers according to their merits.

80 Because his mother, and he himself had been befriended by him, he did not slay the king Abhaya, his eldest uncle, but
81 handed over the government to him for the night-time: he became the 'Nagaraguttika' (Guardian of the City). From that
82 time onward there were nagaraguttikas in the capital. His father-in-law also, Girikandasaiva, he did not slay but handed
83 over to this uncle the district of Girikandā. He had the pond¹ deepened and abundantly filled with water, and since he had taken water therefrom, when victorious (for his consecration), they called it Jayavāpi.²

84 He settled the yakkha Kūṭavela on the east side of the city, the yakkha Cittarāja at the lower end of the Abhaya-tank.³ The slave-woman who had helped him in time past and was re-born of a yakkhiṇī, the thankful (king) settled at
85 the south gate of the City. Within the royal precincts he housed the yakkhiṇī in the form of a mare. Year by year he
86 had sacrificial offerings made to them and to other (yakkhas); but on festival-days he sat with Cittarāja beside him on a seat of equal height, and having gods and men to dance before
87 him, the king took his pleasure, in joyous and merry wise.

He laid out also four suburbs as well as the Abhaya-tank,
88 the common cemetery, the place of execution, and the chapel of the Queens of the West, the banyan-tree of Vessavāna⁴ and
89 the Palmyra-palm of the Demon of Maladies,⁵ the ground set apart for the Yonas and the house of the Great Sacrifice; all these he laid out near the west gate.⁶

¹ I.e. the pond in Anurādhapura, mentioned in v. 77. Since the old name has been changed, it is impossible to identify the Jayavāpi.

² I.e. the tank of victory.

³ See v. 88. The Abhaya-vāpi which was laid out by the king Paṇḍukābhaya himself, is the tank now called Basawak-kulam. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 360 foll.

⁴ I.e. of Kubera, god of wealth (Skt. Vaiśravaṇa), who perhaps is here considered as a chthonian god.

⁵ Or the God of the Huntmen, according to the reading vyādha-devassa.

⁶ On the various buildings and foundations mentioned in 89 and 90,

He set five hundred caṇḍālas to the work of cleaning the 91
 (streets of the) town, two hundred caṇḍālas to the work of
 cleaning the sewers, one hundred and fifty caṇḍālas he em- 92
 ployed to bear the dead and as many caṇḍālas to be watchers
 in the cemetery. For these he built a village north-west 93
 of the cemetery and they continually carried out their duty
 as it was appointed.

Toward the north-east of the caṇḍāla-village he made the 94
 cemetery, called the Lower Cemetery, for the caṇḍāla folk.
 North of this cemetery, between (it and) the Pāsāṇa-mountain, 95
 the line of huts for the huntsmen were built thenceforth.
 Northward from thence, as far as the Gāmaṇi-tank,¹ a her- 96
 mitage was made for many ascetics; eastward of that same 97
 cemetery the ruler built a house for the nigaṇṭha² Jotiya.
 In that same region dwelt the nigaṇṭha named Giri and 98
 many ascetics of various heretical sects. And there the lord 99
 of the land built also a chapel for the nigaṇṭha Kumbhaṇḍa;
 it was named after him. Toward the west from thence and 100
 eastward of the street of the huntsmen lived five hundred
 families of heretical beliefs. On the further side of Jotiya's 101
 house and on this side of the Gāmaṇi-tank he likewise built
 a monastery for wandering mendicant monks, and a dwelling 102
 for the ājīvakas and a residence for the brahmins, and in
 this place and that he built a lying-in shelter and a hall³ for
 those recovering from sickness.

Ten years after his consecration did Paṇḍukābhaya the 103
 ruler of Laṅkā establish the village-boundaries over the
 whole of the island of Laṅkā. With Kāṣaveśa and Citarāja, 104

see Mah. ed., *Introd.*, p. liv. Since the *Tikā* leaves us in the lurch
 it will be difficult to add anything further. *

¹ The Gāmaṇivāpi is perhaps the Karumbāwa-tank which lies
 somewhat more than a mile north from the Bulaṅ-kulam. PARKER,
 however, identifies it with the Peramiyan-kulam. *Ancient Ceylon*,
 p. 364.

² Name of a sect of ascetics (the Jaina) who went about naked.

³ According to the *Tikā* we have to take *sivikāsoṭṭhisālāṃ* as
sivikā-sālāṃ ca *soṭṭhisālāṃ* ca. The former word is explained
 by *viḍḍāyanaghara* 'house of delivery', the latter by *gilānasālā*
 'hall for the sick'.

who were visible (in bodily form) the prince enjoyed his good
 105 fortune, he who had yakkhas and bhūtas¹ for friends. Between the king Paṇḍukābhaya and Abhaya were seventeen years without a king.

106 When the ruler of the earth, Paṇḍukābhaya, the intelligent, being thirty-seven years old, had assumed the rule over the kingdom, he reigned full seventy years in fair and wealthy² Anurādhapura.

Here ends the tenth chapter, called 'The Consecrating of Paṇḍukābhaya' in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ That is, ghosts; but the expression is ambiguous. It could also mean 'he who had those that had become yakkhas (namely Kāḷavela and Citta) for friends'.

² *Tikā*: *samiddhe ti, sampattiyaṃ pūrite addhe vā* 'filled with prosperity or wealthy'.

CHAPTER XI

THE CONSECRATING OF DEVĀNĀMPIYATIṢṢA

AFTER his death his son, known by the name of MUṬASIVA, 1 the son of Suvannapālī, succeeded him in the government, which was (then) in a peaceful state. The king laid out the 2 beautiful Mahāmeghavana-garden, rich in all the good qualities that its name promises¹ and provided with fruit-trees and flowering-trees. At the time that the place was 3 chosen for the garden, a great cloud, gathering at an unwonted season, poured forth rain; therefore they called the garden Mahāmeghavana.

Sixty years king Muṭasiva reigned in splendid Anurādhapura, the fair face of the land of Lāṅkā. He had ten sons, 4 each thoughtful of the other's welfare, and two daughters equal² (in beauty), worthy of their family. The second son, 6 known by the name Devānāmpiyatiṣṣa, was foremost among all his brothers in virtue and intelligence.

This DEVĀNĀMPIYATIṢṢA became king after his father's 7 death. Even at the time of his consecration many wonders came to pass. In the whole isle of Lāṅkā treasures and 8

¹ Following the reading of the Burmese MSS. and the *Tikā* *nāmā-nugagunodito* 'eminent in the qualities corresponding to the name'. Mahāmeghavana means 'grove of the great cloud'. The qualities which it possesses are such as accompany abundant rainfall: streams, trees with thick foliage, shade, coolness and so forth. Cf. the explanation of the *Tikā*. Mah. ed., note on this passage. The Mahāmeghavana was situated south of the city of Anurādhapura, where now the Mahāvihāra stands. Between it and the southern wall of the city was another park, called Nandana or Jotivana. See 15, 1, 8; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 272-274.

² *Tikā*: *anukūlā ti, samānavayyā; ayam surūpā ayam virūpā ti vacanapacchinditum anarabhā samānarūpā; aññamañña-anukūlarūpasampattiya samannāgatā ti a-dhippāyo*. The sense is: they were of equal beauty.

jewels that had been buried deep rose up to the surface of the
 9 earth. Jewels which had been in ships wrecked near Laṅkā and
 those which were naturally formed there (in the ocean) issued
 10 forth upon the land. At the foot of the Chūta-mountain
 there grew up three bamboo-stems, in girth even as a waggon-
 11 pole.¹ One of them, 'the creeper-stem,' shone like silver; on
 this might be seen delightful creepers gleaming with a golden
 12 colour. But one was the 'flower-stem', on this again might
 be seen flowers of many kinds, of manifold colours, in full
 13 bloom. And last, one was the 'bird-stem' whereon might be
 seen numbers of birds and beasts of many (kinds) and of
 14 many colours, as if living. Pearls of the eight kinds, namely
 horse-pearl, elephant-pearl, waggon-pearl, myrobalan-pearl,
 bracelet-pearl, ring-pearl, kakudha fruit-pearl, and common
 15 (pearls) came forth out of the ocean and lay upon the shore
 in heaps.

16 All this was the effect of Devānampiyatissa's merit. Sapphires, beryl, ruby, these gems and many jewels and those
 17 pearls and those bamboo-stems they brought, all in the same week, to the king.

When the king saw them he was glad at heart and thought:
 18 'My friend Dhammāsoka and nobody else is worthy to have these priceless treasures; I will send them to him as a gift.'
 19 For the two monarchs, Devānampiyatissa and Dhammāsoka already had been friends a long time, though they had never seen each other.

20 The king sent four persons appointed as his envoys: his nephew Mahārīttha, who was the chief of his ministers, then
 31 his chaplain, a minister and his treasurer,² attended by a body of retainers, and he bade them take with them those priceless
 22 jewels, the three kinds of precious stones, and the three stems (like) waggon-poles, and a spiral shell winding to the right, and

¹ This must be the meaning of rathapatoda, although patoda properly means 'goad, whip'.

² The *Tikā* also tells us the names of Arīttha's three companions, namely Tulipabbata (in *Kamb. Mah. Nāli*), Tels and Tissa. These names are, we may conjecture, taken from the original source of the *Mah.*, the old *Atthakathā*.

the eight kinds of pearls. When they had embarked at Jambu- 23
kola¹ and in seven days had reached the haven² in safety,
and from thence in seven days more had come to Pāṭaliputta, 24
they gave those gifts into the hands of king Dhammāsoka.
When he saw them he rejoiced greatly. Thinking: 'Here 25
I have no such precious things,' the monarch, in his joy,
bestowed on Ariṭṭha the rank of a commander in his army,
on the brahman the dignity of chaplain, to the minister he 26
gave the rank of staff-bearer, and to the treasurer that of
a guild-lord.³

When he had allotted to the (envoys) abundance of (all) 27
things for their entertainment and dwelling-houses, he took
counsel with his ministers considering (what should be sent
as) a return-gift; and he took⁴ a fan,⁵ a diadem, a sword, 28
a parasol, shoes, a turban, ear-ornaments,⁶ chains,⁷ a pitcher,
yellow sandalwood, a set of garments that had no need of 29
cleansing, a costly napkin, unguent brought by the nāgas,
red-coloured earth, water from the lake Anotatta and 30
also water from the Ganges, a (spiral) shell winding in

¹ A landing-place in northern Ceylon. See chiefly 10. 25.

² The haven of Tāmalittī. See note to 11. 38.

³ Very characteristic, and throwing light on court-life in India, chiefly in the fifth century A.D. The complimentary bestowing of titles and dignities was then the custom, just as at the present day.

⁴ The accusatives in the text are all dependent on v. 33. From this point the things enumerated are merely either the insignia of a royal prince or such as are used for the ceremony of consecrating a king.

⁵ Vālavijjanī is a fly-whisk (Skt. cāmara) made of the hair of a yak's tail.

⁶ The Tikkā explains vatamśa (Skt. avatamśa) by kaṇṇapi-landhana. See *Vinaya Texts*, II, p. 347, note on C.V. I. 13. 1. In Thūpav., p. 17²² pupphavatamśaka is rendered in Sinhalese malkaḥa.

⁷ That pāmaṅga must be a band or chain is clear from the simile in Thūpav. 3¹²⁻¹³. The Buddha Dipamkara winds the girdle round his red garment as one might wind a golden pāmaṅga about a bunch of flowers. The same simile occurs Mahābodhi., ed. S. R. N. O. G., p. 62¹²; cf. also C.V. 5. 2. 1; Sum. VII. 1. 80¹² on D. I. 1. 10. (To be read thus, Mah. ed., p. 355, line 29.)

- 31 auspicious wise,¹ a maiden in the flower of her youth, utensils
 as golden platters, a costly litter, yellow and emblic myro-
 32 balans and precious ambrosial healing herbs, sixty times one
 hundred waggon loads of mountain-rice brought thither by
 parrots, nay, all that was needful for consecrating a king,
 33 marvellous in splendour; and sending these (things) in due
 time as a gift to his friend the lord of men sent envoys also
 34 with the gift of the true doctrine, saying: 'I have taken
 refuge in the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, I have
 declared myself a lay-disciple in the religion of the Sakya son;²
 35 seek then even thou, O best of men converting thy mind with
 36 believing heart refuge in these best of gems!' and saying
 moreover: 'Consecrate my friend yet again as king,' he
 dismissed his friend's ministers, with many marks of honour.
- 37 When the ministers had stayed five months, highly honoured
 they set forth with the envoys, on the first day of the bright
 38 half of the month Vesākha.³ Having embarked at Tāmralīṭṭī⁴
 and landed at Jambukola they sought out the king, when
 39 they arrived here on the twelfth day. The envoys handed the
 gifts to the ruler of Laṅkā; the ruler of Laṅkā made them
 welcome with great hospitality.
- 40 But the envoys most faithful to their king consecrated the
 ruler of Laṅkā, whose (first) consecration had been held in the
 month Maggasira⁵ on the day when the moon first shows
 41 itself, fulfilling the charge of Dhammasoka, yet again as king,
 they rejoicing in the salvation of their king (consecrated) him
 who rejoiced in the good fortune of Laṅkā.

¹ Winding towards the right, *dakkhiṇāvatto*; cf. v. 22.

² I.e. of Buddha, sprung from the tribe of the Sakyas. See 2. 15 foll.

³ See note to l. 12.

⁴ Skt. Tāmralīptī, a harbour in the region at the mouth of the Ganges, now Tamruk. At Tāmralīptī the Chinese pilgrim Fāhien embarked for Ceylon in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. See LEON, *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, p. 100.

⁵ According to the Dip. 11. 14 and 38, the first coronation of D. was held in the second winter month under the Nakkhatta Āsāḷha, and the second coronation on the twelfth day of the bright half of the Vesākha month. Cf. Introduction, para. 7.

Thus on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha the ruler 42 of men, in whose name was contained the words 'friend of the gods',¹ bestowing good upon his people, held his consecration (as king) in Lāṅkā, where in every place they held high festival.

Here ends the eleventh chapter, called 'The Consecrating of Devānampiyatissa' in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Devānampiyatissa means 'Tissa, friend of the gods'.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONVERTING OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

- 1 WHEN the *thera* Moggaliputta, the illuminator of the religion of the Conqueror, had brought the (third) council to an
2 end and when, looking into the future, he had beheld the founding of the religion in adjacent countries, (then) in the
3 month Kattika¹ he sent forth *theras*, one here and one there. The *thera* Majjhantika he sent to Kasmira and Gandhara, the
4 *thera* Mahadeva he sent to Mahisamandala. To Vanavasa he sent the *thera* named Rakkhita, and to Aparantaka the Yona
5 named Dhammarakkhita; to Mahurattika (he sent) the *thera* named Mahadhammarakkhita, but the *thera* Maharakkhita he
6 sent into the country of the Yona. He sent the *thera* Majjhima to the Himalaya country, and to Suvannabhumi he sent the
7 two *theras* Sopa and Uttara. The great *thera* Mahinda, the *theras* Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasala his disciples, these five *theras* he sent forth with the charge: 'Ye shall found in the lovely island of Lanka the lovely religion of the Conqueror.'
9 At that time in Kasmira and Gandhara² did the *naga*-king of wondrous power, Aravala, cause the rain called 'Hail' to
10 pour down upon the ripe crops, and cruelly did he overwhelm everything with a flood. The *thera* Majjhantika went thither
11 with all speed, passing through the air, and wrought (miracles such as) walking on the surface of the water in Aravala's lake and so forth. When the *nagas* beheld it they told their king with fury about this thing.
12 Then full of fury the *naga*-king brought divers terrors to

¹ See note to 1. 12. As to the time of the third council, cf. the Introduction.

² Gandhara comprises the districts of Peshawar and Rawal Pindi in the northern Punjab. Kasmira is the modern Kashmir.

pass; fierce winds blew, a cloud gave forth thunder and rain, thunder strokes crashed, and lightning flashed here and there, 13 trees and mountain-tops were hurled down. Nāgas in grisly 14 forms terrified (beholders) on every side, he himself spat forth smoke and fire threatening in different ways.

When the *thera* by his wondrous power had brought all 15 these terrors to naught, he said to the *nāga*-king, showing his eminent might: 'Even if the world together with the gods 16 came seeking to terrify me, they would not be equal to me (in strength) whatever fears and dread (they may arouse) in this place.¹ Nay, if thou shouldst raise the whole earth with the 17 ocean and the mountains, thou mighty *nāga*, and shouldst hurl them upon me, thou couldst in no wise arouse fear and 18 dread in me. It were surely but thy own destruction, thou lord of serpents.'

Then to him, humbled by these words the *thera* preached 19 the doctrine, and thereupon the *nāga*-king came unto the (three) refuges and the precepts of duty,² and this likewise 20 did eighty-four thousand serpents and many *gandhabbas*, *yakkhas* and *kumbhāṇḍakas*³ in the Himalaya. But a yak- 21 *kha* named *Paṇḍaka* with (his wife) the *yakkhīnī* *Hārītā* and his five hundred sons obtained the first fruit (of sanctification).⁴

'Henceforth let no anger arise as of old; work no more 22 harm to the harvest, for living beings love their happiness; cherish love for beings, let men live in happiness.' Thus 23 were they taught by him and they did according to (this teaching). Then the lord of serpents made the *thera* sit upon 24 a jewel-throne and he stood near, fanning him. But the 25 dwellers in *Kāśmīra* and *Gandhāra* who had come to worship

¹ The right reading appears to be *yam ettha bhayaṭṭheravaṃ*. The construction of the sentence is, however, very difficult. For the explanation of the *Tikā* see Mah. ed., note on the passage.

² See note to I. 32 and 62.

³ Skt. *kumbhāṇḍa*, name of a class of supernatural beings under the rule of *Virūjhaka*. The *gandhabbas* (= Skt. *gandharva*) are a class of demigods who are the attendants of *Dhātaraṭṭha*. *Virūjhaka*, and *Dhātaraṭṭha* are two of the four great kings of the world (*lokapālā*), the regents of the south and north.

⁴ I.e. the *śotāpattiphala*. Cf. note to I. 33.

- the nāga-king acknowledged the thera as the mightier in
 26 working wonders,¹ and when they had paid the thera reverence
 they seated themselves on one side near him. The thera
 expounded to them the dhamma, (namely) the Āsivisūpamā.²
 27 The conversion of eighty thousand persons took place³ and
 a hundred thousand persons received the pabbajjā from the
 28 thera. Since then Kāsmīra and Gandhāra shine with yellow
 robes and prize above all the three things.⁴
 29 The thera Mahādeva who had gone to the Mahisamāṇḍala⁵
 country preached in the midst of the people the Devadūta-
 30 suttanta.⁶ Forty thousand (persons) made pure (in themselves)
 the eye of the truth and yet forty thousand received from
 him the pabbajjā-ordination.
 31 The thera Rakkhita, who had gone to Vanavāsa,⁷ preached,
 floating in the air in the midst of the people, the Anamatagga-
 32 saṃyutta.⁸ The conversion of sixty thousand persons took
 place, thirty-seven thousand in number received the pabbajjā
 33 from him. Five hundred vihāras were founded in the

¹ Cf. Mah. ed., note on this passage, also 14. 20 with note. The positive mahiddhika stands for the comparative.

² The Āsivisa-sutta of S. IV, pp. 172-175, or the āsivisopamā 'simile of the serpent' of A. II, pp. 110-111.

³ See note to 1. 32.

⁴ Namely buddha, dhamma, saṃgha, the Buddha, his doctrine and his order. See note to 1. 62.

⁵ Mahisamāṇḍala is generally taken as the modern Mysore. But FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 429 foll., has shown that this identification is hardly correct. He himself takes Mahisamāṇḍala as 'territory of the Māhisha' of which the capital was Māhishmatī. Agreeing with PAROITER he places this capital on the island of the Narbadā river, now called Mandhātā. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s. v. Mahisamāṇḍala is, therefore, a district south of the Vindhyan mountains.

⁶ I.e. 'Discourse on the Messengers of God.' See M. III, pp. 178-187; A. I, pp. 138-142. The suttanta deals with old age, disease, and death as messengers of Yama the god of death.

⁷ The Vanavāsaka or Vanavāsīn are mentioned in the Mahābhārata, 6. 365, and Harivaṃśa, 5282, as a people dwelling in southern India. See B.R., *Std. Wtb.* s.v. There is also a modern town Banavāsī in North Kāśara which seems to have preserved the old name. *Imp. Gaz. of India*, s.v.

⁸ S. II, pp. 178-193.

country. Thus did the thera establish there the religion of the Conqueror.

The thera Dhammarakkhita the Yona, being gone to 34 Aparantaka¹ and having preached in the midst of the people the Aggikkhandhopamā-sutta,² gave to drink of the nectar of 35 truth to thirty-seven thousand living beings who had come together there, he who perfectly understood truth and untruth. 36 A thousand men and yet more women went forth from noble families and received the pabbajjā.

The wise Mahādhammarakkhita, who had gone to Mahā- 37 ratṭha,³ related there the jātaka called Mahānāradakassapa.⁴ Eighty-four thousand persons attained to the reward of the 38 path (of salvation), thirteen thousand received from him the pabbajjā.

The wise Mahārakkhita who went to the country of the 39 Yona⁵ delivered in the midst of the people the Kālakārāma-suttanta.⁶ A hundred and seventy thousand living beings 40 attained to the reward of the path (of salvation); ten thousand received the pabbajjā.

The wise Majjhima⁷ preached in the Himalaya region whither 41

¹ Skt. Aparānta 'the western ends', comprising the territory of northern Gujārāt, Kāthiāwār, Kachchh, and Sind. FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 427.

² I.e. 'The discourse on the parable of the flames of fire.' A. IV, pp. 128-135.

³ Skt. Mahārāṣṭra, the country of the Marāṭhī.

⁴ FAUSSÖLL, *Jat.* vi, pp. 219-255.

⁵ The Yonas (Skt. Yavana) are also mentioned, together with the Kambojas, in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Aśoka. They 'must mean the class of foreign races (not necessarily Greek) on the north-western frontier, included in the empire (of Aśoka)'. V. A. SMITH, *Aśoka*, p. 132, n. 2. It is remarkable that just at that time (246 B.C.) the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was founded by Diodotos. See SPIEGEL, *Eran. Alterthumsk.*, III, p. 49 foll.

⁶ Probably by this title is meant the suttanta 24 of the Catukkani-pāta in A. II, pp. 24-26. The Kālakārāma is supposed to be the place where Buddha delivered this discourse.

⁷ The companions of Majjhima, according to Dip. 8. 10, Snp. 317^a, MBv. 115^a, and Tīkā 222^a, were the theras Kassapagotta, Mūladeva (Alakadeva), Sāhadeva, and Dundubhissara. See the Introduction.

- he had gone with four theras, the Dhammacakkappavattana-
 42 suttanta.¹ Eighty koṭis of living beings attained to the reward
 of the path (of salvation). The five theras separately con-
 43 verted five kingdoms; from each of them a hundred thousand
 persons received the pabbajjā, believing in the doctrine of
 the Sammāsambuddha.
- 44 Together with the therā Uttara the therā Sona of wondrous
 45 might went to Suvannabhūmi.² Now at this time, when-
 ever a boy was born in the king's palace, a fearsome female
 demon who came forth out of the sea, was wont to devour (the
 46 child) and vanish again. And at that very moment a prince
 was born in the king's palace. When the people saw the
 theras they thought: 'These are companions of the demons,'
 47 and they came armed to kill them. And the theras
 asked: 'What does this mean?' and said to them: 'We
 48 are pious ascetics, in no wise companions of the demon.'
 Then the demon came forth from the ocean with her follow-
 49 ing, and when the people saw them they raised a great outcry.
 50 But the therā created twice as many terrifying demons and
 therewith surrounded the demon and her following on every
 side. She thought: 'This (country) is come into possession
 of these (people),' and, panic-stricken, she took to flight.
- 51 When the therā had made a bulwark round the country he
 pronounced in the assembly the Brahmajāla(suttanta).³
- 52 Many were the people who came unto the (three) refuges
 and the precepts of duty; sixty thousand were converted to

¹ I.e. 'The discourse of the setting in motion the wheel of the doctrine.' See M.V. I, 6. 17 foll. (= *Vin. Pit.* i, p. 10 foll.); S.V. pp. 420-431; *S.B.E.* xi, p. 146 foll.

² The general opinion was, until recently, that Suvannabhūmi 'the gold-land' is lower Burma with adjacent districts. But this is very doubtful, since it is a fact that Buddhism reached Burma from China in the Mahāyāna-form and not before the fourth century A.D. FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 428, suggests that Suvannabhūmi might be the country in Bengal called by Hsien-tsang 'Ka-lo-na-su-fa-la-na' = Karyasuvarṇa, or else the country along the river Son, a river in Central India, and tributary of the Ganges on its right bank, which is also called Hiranyavāha 'the gold-bearer'.

³ I.e. 'The Net of the Religious,' D. I, p. 1 foll.

the true faith. Three thousand five hundred sons of noble 53 families received the pabbajjā and one thousand five hundred daughters of noble families received it likewise. Thenceforth 54 when a prince was born in the royal palace the kings gave to such the name Soguttara.

Since they did even forbear to enter into the bliss already 55 won—(such was) also the renunciation of the all-compassionate Conqueror—they bestowed blessing on the world,¹ (going) here and there. Who should grow weary in (striving for) the salvation of the world?

Here ends the twelfth chapter, called 'The Converting of Different Countries', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The sense is this: The theras had already attained to arahantship and were in possession of nibbāna. Nevertheless they forebore to pass into nibbāna, in order that they might first show the way salvation to the world. They thus followed the example of the Buddha who had practised the same renunciation (kaṭṭhana). See M.V. I. 5. 2 foll. (= Vin. Pit. i, p. 4 foll.).

CHAPTER XIII

THE COMING OF MAHINDA

1 THE great therā Mahinda, of lofty wisdom, who at that
time had been twelve years (a monk), charged by his teacher
2 and by the brotherhood to convert the island of Laṅkā, pon-
dered on the fitting time (for this) and thought: 'Old is the
king Muṭasiva; his son must become king.'

3 When he had resolved to visit in the meantime his kinsfolk,
he bade farewell to his teacher and the brotherhood and
4 having asked the leave of the king he took with him the four
theras¹ and also Saṃghamittā's son, the miraculously gifted
5 āmaṇera Sumana,² mighty in the six supernormal powers; and
he went to Dakkhināgiri³ to confer on his kinsfolk (the) grace
(of his preaching). While he was so doing six months passed
away.

6 When he came in time to Vedisa⁴ the city of his mother
7 Devī, he visited his mother and when Devī saw her dear son
she made him welcome, and his companions likewise, with
foods prepared by herself, and she led the therā up to the
lovely vihāra Vedisa⁴.

8 When the prince Asoka, while ruling over the realm of
Avanti, that his father had bestowed on him, halted in the
9 town of Vedisa, before he came to Ujjeni, and met there a
10 lovely maiden named Devī, the daughter of a merchant, he
made her his wife; and she was (afterwards) with child by
11 him and bore in Ujjeni a beautiful boy, Mahinda, and when
two years had passed (she bore) a daughter, Saṃghamittā. At

¹ See 12. 7.

² See 5. 170.

³ A vihāra in Ujjeni, Skr. Ujjayinī. See note to 5. 39.

⁴ Vedisa is the modern Bhilsa in Gwalior State, situated 26 miles
north-east of Bhopāl. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, s. v.; E. MÜLLER,
J.P.T.S. 1888, p. 87; RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 288.

that time¹ she lived in the city of Vedisa. The therā who then 12
sojourned there, perceiving (that) the time (was come), thought
thus: 'In that great festival of consecration commanded by 13
my father shall the great king Devānappiyatissa take part,
and he shall know the splendour of the three things² when he
has heard it from the envoys. He shall climb the Missaka- 14
mountain³ on the uposatha-day of the month Jetṭha.⁴ On
that same day we will go to the beauteous isle of Laṅkā.'

The great Indra⁵ sought out the excellent therā Mahinda 15
and said to him: 'Set forth to convert Laṅkā; by the Sarp-
buddha also hast thou been foretold (for this) and we will be 16
those who aid thee there.'

The son of a daughter of Devī's sister, (a youth) named
Bhaṇḍuka, who had heard the doctrine preached by the therā 17
to Devī, and who had obtained the reward of one who shall
return no more unto life⁶ remained with the therā.

When he had stayed there a month the therā, on the upo- 18
satha-day of the month Jetṭha, with the four theras and
Sumana,⁷ and the lay-disciple Bhaṇḍuka also, to the end that 19
they might be known for human beings,⁸ rose up in the air
(and departed) from that vihāra; and he, the (therā) of won-
drous powers, coming hither with his following alighted on 20

¹ Namely, at the time of Mahinda's visit.

² Cf. note to 12. 28.

³ Now the mountain Mihintale (= 'plain of Mahinda', according to
A. GUNASEKARA), 8 miles to the east of Anurādhapura.

⁴ See note to 1. 12.

⁵ A play upon the name Mahinda.

⁶ The stage of anāgāmi is the third and last stage but one, on
the path of salvation leading to nibbāna. Such an one will not be
re-born, either in the world of gods or of men, but only in a Brahma-
world, where he will attain nibbāna. See CHILDERS, s. v.

⁷ It seems almost as if v. 18 were an interpolated verse. If we
omit it 19 follows perfectly well on 17: '... remained with the
therā; with this lay-disciple ... he rose up, &c.' That, besides,
the four theras and Sumana were Mahinda's fellow-travellers is
already known from 12. 7 and 13. 4.

⁸ With this cf. 14. 31, also Mah. ed., note to 13. 19b and Album
Kern 205-206.

the pleasant Missaka-mountain, on the Sila-peak on the open and fair Ambatthala.¹

- 21 He who was foretold by the Sage, in the hour of death, as bringing salvation to Laṅkā,² by his merit in converting Laṅkā, he, who for Laṅkā's salvation had become like to the Master,³ alighted there, extolled by the gods of Laṅkā.

Here ends the thirteenth chapter, called 'The Coming of Mahinda', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Cf. TENNENT, *Ceylon*, ii, p. 605 foll. The Silakūṭa is the northern peak of the Mihintale-mountain. Immediately below it lies the little tableland on which the Ambatthala-dagaba stands.

² Lit. 'For the blessing of L.'

³ The allusion probably is to the Buddha's legendary visit to the island.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ENTRY INTO THE CAPITAL

THE king Devānampiyatissa who had arranged a water- 1
festival for the dwellers in the capital, set forth to enjoy the
pleasures of the chase. Attended by forty thousand of his 2
men he went on foot to the Missaka-mountain. The deva of 3
the mountain who desired to show the theras to him, appeared
there in the form of an elk-stag browsing in the thicket.
When the king saw him, he thought: 'It is unseemly to kill 4
an unheeding (creature)' and he struck out a sound from his
bowstring; the stag fled towards the mountain. The king 5
pursued, but the stag in his flight drew near to the therā.
When the therā came into the prince's view the (deva) himself
vanished.

Thinking: 'If he sees too many (people) he will be too 6
much afraid,' the therā let (the king) see him alone. When
the king beheld him he stood still terrified. The therā said to 7
him: 'Come hither, Tissa.' Then, from the calling him by
his name, Tissa, the king thought forthwith: '(That is) a
yakkha.' 'Samaṇas are we, O great king, disciples of the 8
King of Truth. From compassion toward thee are we come
hither from Jambudīpa,' thus said the therā. When the king 9
heard this fear left him. And remembering the message of
his friend, and persuaded that these were samaṇas, he laid bow 10
and arrow aside and approaching the sage he exchanged greet-
ing with the therā and sat down near him.

Then came his people and surrounded him and the great therā 11
caused the others who had come with him to become visible.
When the king beheld these too he said: 'When did these come 12
hither?' The therā answered: '(They came) with me.' And

- 13 he asked moreover: 'Are there in Jambudīpa other ascetics like to these?' The other said: 'Jambudīpa is gleaming with
 14 yellow robes; and great is the number there of arahants learned in the three vedas, gifted with miraculous powers, skilled in reading the thoughts of others, possessing the heavenly ear:¹ the disciples of the Buddha.'
- 15 (The king) then asked: 'By what way are you come?' And since the answer was: 'Neither by land nor by water are we come,' he understood that they had come through the air.
- 16 To test him that most wise (thera) now asked a subtle question, and even as he was questioned the monarch answered the questions severally.
- 17 'What name does this tree bear, O king?'
 'This tree is called a mango.'
 'Is there yet another mango beside this?'
 'There are many mango-trees.'
- 18 'And are there yet other trees besides this mango and the other mangoes?'
 'There are many trees, sir; but those are trees that are not mangoes.'
- 19 'And are there, beside the other mangoes and those trees which are not mangoes, yet other trees?'
 'There is this mango-tree, sir.'
 'Thou hast a shrewd wit, O ruler of men!'
- 20 'Hast thou kinsfolk, O king?'
 'They are many, sir.'
 'And are there also some, O king, who are not kinsfolk of thine?'
 'There are yet more² of those than of my kin.'
- 21 'Is there yet any one besides the kinsfolk and the others?'
 'There is yet myself, sir.'
 'Good! thou hast a shrewd wit, O ruler of men!'
- 22 When he had known that he was a keen-witted man, the

¹ Iddhi, cetopariyañña and dibbasota are three of the six abhīññā. See note on 4. 12 (No. I, III, II).

² The positive bahū, with the abl. bāhito, stands instead of the comparative. See 12. 25 (with note) also Mah. ed., *Introd.*, p. liv.

wise therā preached to the monarch the Cūlahatthipadūpama-suttanta.¹ At the end of the discourse he, with the forty 23 thousand men, came unto the (three) refuges.²

In the evening they brought the king's meal to him. 24 Although the king knew that these (bhikkhus) would not eat then he invited the sages to the meal, with the thought: 'It 25 were seemly at least to ask them.' When they told him: 'We do not eat now,' he asked concerning the time. And 26 when he was told the time, he said: 'We will go into the city.'

'Go thou, great king, we will stay here.'

'If that be so, then must this young man³ come with us.' 27

'This (youth) is one who has attained the goal,⁴ has grasped the doctrine and waits for the pabbajjā, (therefore) must he 28 abide near us. We wish to bestow on him the pabbajjā now; depart then, O king.' Then, when he had taken leave of the 29 theras with the words: 'To-morrow I will send a waggon, do you enter it and come into the city,' he took Bhaṇḍu aside and asked him what the theras intended (to do). And he 30 told the king all. When (the king) heard the therā's name he was full of joy and thought: 'This is blessing for me.' And now the king, whose fear had left him because Bhaṇḍu 31 was a layman, knew that these were human beings.⁵ Saying: 'Let us bestow on him the pabbajjā,' the therā bestowed on 32 young Bhaṇḍuka, within the boundaries of that village and within that group (of bhikkhus),⁶ both the pabbajjā and the

¹ I.e. 'The lesser discourse on the simile of the elephant's foot-print.' M. I, pp. 175-184.

² See notes to I. 32 and 62.

³ Namely Bhaṇḍu.

⁴ Āgataphala is a synonym of anāgāminiphalā. See 13. 17.

⁵ See the note to 13. 19. The king's remaining fears that he was in the presence of supernatural beings, were only overcome by the details communicated by Bhaṇḍu.

⁶ Every monastery has its parish, the bounds of which (sīmā) are strictly fixed according to M.V. II. 11 foll., and within these the ecclesiastical proceedings take place. Since there were as yet no monasteries in Ceylon the boundaries of the village situated on Misaka served as a parish. But the chapter (gaṇa) which carried out the ordination was formed by Mahinda and his companions.

- 33 upasampadā-ordination, and even in the same moment he attained to the state of arahant.
- 34 Then the therā ordered the sāmaṇera Sumana: 'Announce ye the time of preaching the dhamma.' He asked: 'How far, sir,
- 35 shall I make the time to be heard when I announce it?' When the therā answered: 'Over all Tambapanni,' he announced the time of (preaching the) dhamma, making it to be heard, by his miraculous power, over the whole of Laṅkā.
- 36 When the king, who was seated by the rock-basin at the Nāgacatukka¹ and was taking his repast, heard the loud
- 37 summons, he sent a message to the therā asking: 'Has any misfortune come to pass?' He answered: 'No misfortune has come to pass; the time was proclaimed for hearing the word of the Sambuddha.'
- 38 When the earth-gods heard the summons of the sāmaṇera they echoed it and so the call rose up gradually to Brahma's
- 39 heaven. Because of the summons there came together a great assembly of devas; and the therā preached before this gathering the Samacitta-sutta.²
- 40 Devas without number were converted to the doctrine and many nāgas and supannas³ came unto the (three)
- 41 refuges. Even as when the therā Sāriputta uttered this discourse so did the devas gather together to hear it from Mahinda.
- 42 On the morrow the king sent a waggon. The driver came and said: 'Mount into the waggon, we will drive to the city.'
- 43 'We will not mount into the waggon; go thou, we will follow thee.' Saying this they, full of holy desires,⁴ sent the
- 44 driver away; and they rose into the air and by their miraculous power they descended to the east of the city in the place

¹ By this is probably meant the Nāgapokuṇa situated some distance below the Ambatthala. See GEIGER, *Ceylon*, p. 204.

² By Samacitta-sutta we have to understand Sutta 5-6 of the Samacitta-vagga in the Dukanipāta of A. I, pp. 63-65. The subject is spiritual calm.

³ See note to 19. 20.

⁴ In *sumanorathā* a play on the words *ratha* 'waggon' and *sārathi* 'driver' is intended. The *ratha* of the *theras* is *sumanas* 'pious feeling'.

where the first thūpa (afterwards stood). And thenceforward 45
to this day the cetiya that was built on the spot where the
theras first alighted¹ is called the Paṭhamacetiya.²

Since the women of the royal household, hearing from the 46
king of the virtues of the theras, desired to see them, the
monarch had a lovely pavilion built for them within the royal 47
precincts, covered with white stuffs and with flowers and
beautifully adorned.

And since he had heard from the thera that they would not 48
sit upon raised seats, he pondered doubtfully: 'Will the thera
indeed sit upon a raised seat?' In the meantime the driver 49
saw the theras standing there³ putting on their robes and in
wonderment he came and told the king. Hearing all (this) it 50
became clear to the king that they would not sit on chairs.
And commanding: 'Let the finest carpets be spread upon the 51
ground,' he went to meet the theras, greeted them reverently,
took the almsbowl from the great thera Mahinda's hand and 52
led the thera into the city, as is the custom in hospitable
welcome and homage.

And the soothsayers, when they saw the seats prepared, 53
foretold: 'The earth is occupied by these (bhikkhus); they
will be lords upon the island.' Showing them honour the king 54
led the theras into the palace. There, according to their rank,
they took their seat on chairs covered with stuffs. The king 55
himself served them with rice-soup and with foods hard and
soft. And when the meal was finished, he himself sat down
at their feet and sent for Anulā, the consort of his younger 56
brother, the sub-king Mahānāga, who dwelt in the royal
palace. When the queen Anulā had come with five hundred 57
women and had bowed down and made offerings to the theras,
she stepped to one side. The thera preached the *Petavatthu*, 58

¹ Cf. the same construction in 10. 10. See also Mah. ed., *Introd.*,
p. liii.

² The Paṭhamacetiya 'the First cetiya' has not been found in
the ruins of Anurādhapura. It stood, no doubt, outside the eastern
gate of the city. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 275.

³ Namely at the spot where they had alighted from the air, and
where the driver only arrived after them.

the *Vimānavatthu*¹ and the *Sacca-samyutta*.² The women attained to the first stage of sanctification.³

- 59 And many people from the city, hearing from persons who
 had seen them the day before, of the virtues of the *theras*,
 60 came together desirous to see the *theras* and made a great stir
 at the palace-gates. When the king heard that and had been
 told, on asking, (why it was so,) he said, thoughtful for their
 61 welfare: 'Here there is not enough space for all these men;
 let them cleanse the hall of the state-elephant, there shall
 62 the townspeople be able to look upon the *theras*. When
 they had cleansed the elephant's hall, and had adorned
 it speedily with canopies and so forth, they prepared seats
 63 there (for the *theras*), according to their rank. The great
thera went thither with the (other) *theras* and when he had
 taken his seat, he, the eminent preacher, preached the *Devā-*
 64 *dūta-suttanta*.⁴ When the townspeople, who were come
 together, heard it, they were filled with faith and a thousand
 persons among them attained to the first stage of salvation.
- 65 When thus in the isle of *Laṅkā* the peerless *thera*, like
 unto the Master in the protection of *Laṅkā*, had preached the
 true doctrine in two places, in the speech of the island, he,
 the light of the island, thus brought to pass the descent of the
 true faith.

Here ends the fourteenth chapter, called 'The Entry into the Capital', in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The *Peṭavatthu* and the *Vimānavatthu* are books of the *Khuddaka-nikāya* in the *Sutta-piṭaka*. The former contains stories of ghosts that dwell in the ghost-world, as a punishment for sins committed, the latter contains descriptions of the marvellous palaces that serve as dwellings for happy ghosts. Both texts have been edited by EDM. HARDY, P.T.S. 1889, 1896.

² See S. V, pp. 414-478.

³ I.e. the *sotāpatti*. Cf. note to I. 33.

⁴ See note to II. 29.

CHAPTER XV

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE MAHĀVIHĀRA

WHEN they saw that the elephant's hall was also too small, 1
the people who had assembled there, full of pious zeal, prepared
seats for the theras outside the southern gate, in the pleasant 2
Nandana-garden¹ in the royal park, thickly shaded, cool and
covered with verdure. The thera went forth by the south gate 3
and seated himself there. Numbers of women of noble families
who came thither sat at the thera's feet filling the garden. 4
And to them the thera preached the Bālapaṇḍita-suttanta.² A 5
thousand of the women attained to the first stage of salvation.
So, there in the grove, evening fell.

Then the theras set forth saying: 'We will go hence to 6
the mountain.' And they told the king, and the king came
with all speed. Approaching the thera he said to him: 'It is 7
evening-time, and the mountain is far away; but here in the
Nandana-garden is a pleasant place to rest.' When they 8
answered: 'It is not fitting (for us) being too near the city,'
(he said): 'The Mahāmegha-park is neither too far nor
too near; pleasant (is it), and water and shade abound there; 9
may it please you to rest there! Thou must turn back, lord!' 10
Then the thera turned back.

The cetiya (afterwards) built on the spot where he turned 10
back, near the Kadamba-river, is called therefore Nivatta-
cetiya.³

Southwards from Nandana the lord of chariots himself led 11
the thera to the Mahāmegha-park, at the east gate. When 12

¹ See note to 11. 2.

² I. e. 'the discourse of the fool and the wise man.' Probably the
suttanta 8. II, pp. 23-25, or perhaps A. I, 101-105.

³ I. e. the turning-back cetiya. The thūpa was probably not far
from the Paṭhamacetiya. See note to 14. 45.

the king had bidden them prepare fine beds and chairs in fitting wise, in the pleasant royal dwelling, and had taken
 13 leave of the theras, saying: 'Dwell here in comfort,' he returned to the city, surrounded by his ministers; but the theras sojourned there that night.

14 As soon as the morning came, the ruler of the land took flowers and visited the theras, greeting them and offering
 15 flowers in homage, and he asked them: 'Was (your) rest pleasant? Is the garden fitting (for you)?'

'Pleasant was our rest, O great king, and the garden is fitting for aśeetics.'

16 And he asked (moreover): 'Is an ārāma allowed to the brotherhood, sir?' 'It is allowed,' replied the therā, who had knowledge of that which is allowed and that which is not
 17 allowed. And he related the accepting of the Veḷuvanārāma.¹ When the other heard it, he rejoiced greatly and (all) the people were pleased and joyful.

18 But the queen Anulā, who had come with five hundred women to greet the theras, attained to the second stage of salvation.²
 19 And the queen Anulā with her five hundred women said to the king: 'We would fain receive the pabbajjā-ordination,
 20 your Majesty.' The king said to the therā, 'Bestow ye on them the pabbajjā!' But the therā made answer to the king: 'It is not allowed (to us), O great king, to bestow the
 21 pabbajjā on women. But in Pātaliputta there lives a nun, my younger sister, known by the name Saṃghamittā. She,
 22 who is ripe in experience, shall come hither bringing with her the southern branch of the great Bodhi-tree of the king of
 23 sāmānas, O king of men, and (bringing) also bhikkhūṇis renowned (for holiness); to this end send a message to the king my father. When this therī is here she will confer the pabbajjā upon these women.'

¹ The Veḷuvana 'Bamboo-grove' near Rājagaha was a present of the Māgadha-king Bimbisāra to the Buddha. *M.V.* I. 22, 17-18 (= *Vm. Ph.* i, p. 39, *S.B.E.* xiii, p. 143); *Jst.* i, p. 85, 1 foll.

² I. e. the sakadāgāmīphala. A sakadāgāmī is one who will only once be reborn in the world of men before attaining to nibbāna.

'It is well,' said the king, and taking a splendid vase he 24 poured water (in token) of giving, over the hand of the thera Mahinda with the words: 'This Mahāmegha-park do I give 25 to the brotherhood.'

As the water fell on the ground, the great earth quaked. And the protector of the earth asked the (thera): 'Wherefore 26 does the earth quake?' And he replied: 'Because the doctrine is (from henceforth) founded in the island.'

The noble (king)¹ offered jasmine-blossoms to the thera, 27 and the thera went to the royal dwelling and scattered eight handfuls of blossoms about the picula-tree² standing³ on the 28 south side of it. And then again the earth quaked and when he was questioned he gave this reason: 'Already in the life- 29 time of three Buddhas there has been here a mālaka⁴ for carrying out the duties of the brotherhood, O king, and now will it be so once more.'

Northward he went from the royal dwelling to the beautiful 30 bathing-tank, and there also the thera scattered as many blossoms. And then again did the earth quake, and being 31 asked (the thera) gave this reason: 'This, O ruler of the earth, will be the tank with the room for warm baths.'⁵

Then the wise (thera) went to the gateway of the same 32 king's dwelling and did homage to the spot with (the offering of) as many flowers. And here again the earth quaked; and 33 quivering with joy the king asked the reason, and the thera told him the reason: 'Here the south branch of the Bodhi- 34

¹ A play on the words jātimant 'of high birth' (jāti), and jāti 'the great flowered jasmine'.

² *Tamarix Indica*.

³ I would prefer the reading thite agreeing with piculs instead of thito. Certainly B2 is the only one in the collated MSS. that has this reading, but it is supported by the Tikkā.

⁴ Mālaka is a space marked off and usually terraced, within which sacred functions were carried out. In the Mahāvihāra (Tissarāma) at Anurādhapura there were 32 mālakas. Dīp. 14. 78; Mah. 15. 192. The sacred Bodhi-tree for instance was surrounded by a mālaka.

⁵ On the jantūghara ('a bathing-place for hot sitting-baths', S.B.E. xiii, p. 157, n. 2) see M.V. I. 25. 12-13; C.V. V. 14. 3 foll.; VIII. 8. 1 foll.

tree of the three Buddhas¹ of our age was planted, when
 35 they had brought it hither, O king, and the south branch of
 the Bodhi-tree of our Tathāgata will likewise have its place on
 this same spot, lord of the earth.'

36 Then the great therā went to the Mahāmucalamālaka and
 37 scattered on that spot as many flowers. And then again the
 earth quaked, and being questioned he told (the king) the
 reason: 'The uposatha-hall of the brotherhood will be here,
 O lord of the earth.'

38 Afterwards the wise therā went to the place of the Pañham-
 bamālaka.

A ripe mango-tree, excellent in colour, fragrance and taste
 39 and of large size, did the gardener offer to the king, and the
 40 king offered the splendid (fruit) to the therā. The therā,
 bringer of good to mankind, let the king know that he would
 fain rest seated and forthwith the king had a fine carpet
 41 spread. When the therā was seated the king gave him the
 mango-fruit. When the therā had eaten it he gave the kernel
 42 to the king to plant. The king himself planted it there and
 43 over it, that it might grow, the therā washed his hands. In
 that same moment a shoot sprouted forth from the kernel and
 grew little by little to a tall tree bearing leaves and fruit.

44 When those who were present with the king beheld this
 miracle, they stood there doing homage to the therā, their hair
 raising on end (with amazement).

45 Now the therā scattered there eight handfuls of flowers and
 then again the earth quaked. And being asked he gave the
 46 reason: 'This place will be the place where many gifts shall
 be distributed, which shall be given to the brotherhood, (the
 bhikkhus) being assembled together, O ruler of men.'

47 And he went up to the place where (afterwards) the Catus-
 sūla² was, and there he scattered as many flowers, and then

¹ The three Buddhas who preceded the historical Buddha in the
 present age of the world (kappa, lasting many millions of years),
 are named Kakusandha, Koṣāgamaṇa and Kassapa. According to
 the legend they all, like Gotama, visited Ceylon and the events
 always followed the same course. GEIGER, *Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa*,
 p. 8 foll., and Mah. 15. 57 foll.

² I. e. a quadrangular hall which served as a refectory for the monks.

again did the earth quake. And when the king asked the 48
reason of the earthquake the therā made answer: 'On the
occasion of the receipt of a royal park by the three former 49
Buddhas,¹ on this spot the gifts brought from all parts by
the dwellers in the island being laid down, the three Blessed
Ones and their communities accepted them. And now again 50
the Catussālā will stand here and here will be the refectory of
the brotherhood, O lord of men.'

From thence the great therā Mahinda, the friend² of the 51
island, knowing what was a fitting place, and what unfitting,
went to the spot where the Great thūpa³ (afterwards) stood.

At that time there was within the enclosure of the royal 52
park a little pond called the Kakudha-pond; at its upper end,
on the brink of the water, was a level spot fitting for the 53
thūpa.

When the therā went thither they brought the king eight
baskets of campaka-flowers.⁴ The king offered the campaka- 54
flowers to the therā and the therā did homage to the spot with
the campaka-flowers. And then again the earth quaked, the 55
king asked the reason of the earthquake and the therā gave
in due order the reasons for the earthquake.

'This place, O great king, which has been visited by four 56
Buddhas is worthy of a thūpa, to be a blessing and happiness
to beings.

'In our age of the world there lived first⁵ the Conqueror 57
Kakusandha, a teacher versed in all truth, compassionate
toward all the world. At that time this Mahāmegha-grove 58
was known as Mahātitttha; the capital called Abhaya lay east-
ward on the other side of the Kadamba-river,⁶ there Abhaya 59
was king. This island then bore the name Ojadipa.

'By (the power of) the demons pestilence arose here among 60

¹ See note to 15. 34.

² *Dipavaḍḍhana*, lit. furtherer, increaser of the island.

³ I. e. the *Ruwanweli-dagaba* = pāli *Hemamāli*, see 15. 187.

⁴ *Michelia Champaka*, Lin., belonging to the Magnoliaceae.

⁵ Cf. 15. 91 foll., and 125 foll.

⁶ I now prefer to refer *Kadambanadiyā pāre* to the preceding
phrase, therefore *Mah. ed.* the comma after *ahu* (58. 17) should be
deleted and placed after *pāre* (59a).



the people. When Kakusandha, who was gifted with the ten powers,¹ knew of this misery, then, to bring it to an end and to achieve the converting of beings and progress of the doctrine in this island, he, urged on by the might of his compassion, came through the air surrounded by forty thousand (disciples) like to him,² and stood on the Devakūṭa-mountain. By the power of the Sambuddha, O great king, the pestilence ceased then here over the whole island.

64 'Standing there, O king of men, the King of the Wise, the Great Sage, proclaimed his will: "All men in Ojadipa shall
65 see me this day, and if they only desire to come (to me) all men shall draw near to me without trouble and speedily."

66 'When the king and the townsfolk saw the Prince of the Wise, shining and making the mountain to shine, they came swiftly thither.

67 'The people, who were going thither to bring offerings to the devatās, believed the Guide of the World with the brotherhood
68 to be (such) devatās. And when the king, greatly-rejoicing had greeted the King of the Wise, had invited him to a repast
69 and had brought him into the city, the monarch then thinking: "This stately and pleasant place is fitting for the resting-place
of the Prince of the Wise, with the brotherhood, and not too
70 small," made the Sambuddha and the brotherhood sit here on beautiful seats in a fine pavilion raised (by him).

71 'When the people in the island saw the Guide of the world with the brotherhood sitting here they brought gifts hither
72 from every side. And the king served the Guide of the World together with the brotherhood with his own food, both hard and soft, and with such (foods) as were brought by sundry other folk.

73 'While the Conqueror was seated, after the meal, on this very spot,³ the king offered him the Mahātittthaka-garden as a
74 precious gift. When the Mahātittthaka-grove, gay with

¹ See note to §. 6.

² Tādī, i.e. like him, blessed like (the Buddha) himself; by extension, a synonym of arahā. Cf. Therag. 62, 205, 206; Suttanip. 86, 957, &c.

³ Idheva, that is, 'here, just where we now are.'

blossoms at an unwonted season, was accepted by the Buddha the great earth quaked. And sitting even here, the Master 75 preached the doctrine; forty thousand persons attained to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

When the Conqueror had stayed the day through in the 76 Mahātīttha-grove he went in the evening to that plot of ground which was fitting for the place of the Bodhi-tree, and after he, sit- 77 ting there, had sunk in deep meditation the Sambuddha, rising from thence again, thought, mindful of the salvation of the island-people: "Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi-tree, 78 the sirisa,¹ with her, the bhikkhū Rucānandā shall come hither with (other) bhikkhūis."

When the therī knew his thought² she forthwith took the 79 king of that country³ with her and went to the tree. Then 80 when the therī of wondrous power had drawn a line with a pencil of red arsenic around the south branch she took the Bodhi-tree thus separated and set it in a golden vase, and this, 81 by her miraculous power she brought hither, O great king, with (company of her) five hundred bhikkhūis, surrounded by the devatās, and she placed it, with its golden vase, in the out- 82 stretched right hand of the Sambuddha. The Tathāgata received the Bodhi-branch and gave it to the king Abhaya to 83 plant; the lord of the earth planted it in the Mahātīttha-garden.

Then the Sambuddha went northwards from this place, and 84 sitting in the beautiful Sirisamālaka the Tathāgata preached 85 the true doctrine to the people. Then, O prince, the conversion of twenty thousand living beings took place.⁴ Thereupon the 86 Conqueror went yet further north to that plot of ground where (afterwards) the Thūpārāma⁵ stood, and after he, sitting there, had sunk into meditation, the Sambuddha rising from thence 87 again preached the doctrine to those around him, and even at that place did ten thousand living beings attain to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

¹ *Acacia Sirisa*.

² By means of her omniscience.

³ According to the Tīkā king Khema of Khemavati (in Jambudīpa). See Buddhavaṃsa (ed. Moussis, P.T.S. 1882) XXIII. 8.

⁴ See note to I. 32.

⁵ See below, note to 17. 30.

- 88 ' Giving his own holy drinking-vessel for the homage of the
 people and leaving the bhikkhuni here with her following and
 89 also his disciple Mahādeva with a thousand bhikkhus, the
 90 Sambuddha went eastward from thence, and standing on the
 place of the Ratanamāla, he delivered exhortations to the people;
 then rising in the air with the brotherhood the Conqueror
 returned to Jambudīpa.
- 91 ' Second ¹ in our age of the world was the Lord Koṇāgamana,
 the all-knowing Teacher, compassionate toward all the world.
- 92 ' At that time this Mahāmegha-grove was known as Mahā-
 noma, the capital called Vaddhamāna, lay to the south.
- 93 Samiddha was the name of the king of that region then. This
 island then bore the name Varadīpa.
- 94 ' At that time the misery of drought prevailed here in Vara-
 dīpa. When the Conqueror Koṇāgamana knew of this misery,
 95 then, to bring it to an end, and afterwards to achieve the con-
 verting of beings and progress of the doctrine in this island,
 96 he, urged on by the might of his compassion, came through
 the air, surrounded by thirty thousand (disciples) like to him-
 97 self, and stood upon the Sumanakūṭaka-mountain. By the
 power of the Sambuddha the drought came to an end, and
 from the time that the decline of the doctrine ceased rainfall
 in due season now began.
- 98 ' And standing there, O king of men, the King of the Wise,
 the Great Sage, proclaimed his will: " All men in Varadīpa
 99 shall see me this day, and if they only desire to come (to me)
 all men shall draw near to me without trouble and speedily."
- 100 ' When the king and the townsfolk saw the Prince of the
 Wise, shining and making the mountain to shine, they came
 swiftly thither.
- 101 ' The people who were going thither to bring offerings to
 the devatās believed the Guide of the World with the
 102 brotherhood to be (such) devatās. And when the king,
 greatly rejoicing, had greeted the King of the Wise, had
 103 invited him to a repast, and had brought him to the city, the
 monarch then thinking: " This stately and pleasant place is

¹ Cf. 15. 37 foll., and 15. 125 foll.

fitting for the resting-place of the Prince of the Wise with the brotherhood and not too small," made the Sambuddha and 104 the brotherhood sit here on beautiful seats in a fine pavilion raised (by him).

"When the people of the island saw the Guide of the World 105 with the brotherhood sitting here, they brought gifts hither from every side. And the king served the Guide of the 106 World together with the brotherhood with his own food, both hard and soft, and with such (foods) as were brought by sundry other folk.

"While the Conqueror was sitting, after the meal on this 107 very spot, the king offered him the Mahānoma-garden as a precious gift. And when the Mahānoma-grove, gay with 108 blossoms at an unwonted season, was accepted by the Buddha the great earth quaked. And sitting even here, the Master 109 preached the doctrine; then thirty thousand persons attained to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

"When the Conqueror had stayed the day through in the 110 Mahānoma-grove, he went in the evening to that plot of ground where the former Bodhi-tree had stood, and after 111 he, sitting there, had sunk in deep meditation, the Sambuddha, rising from thence again, thought, mindful of the salvation of the island-people: "Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi- 112 tree, the udumbara¹ with her, the bhikkhupī Kantakānandā shall come hither with (other) bhikkhupīs."

"When the therī knew his thought she forthwith took the 113 king of that region² with her and went to the tree. Then 114 when the therī of wondrous power had drawn a line with a pencil of red arsenic around the south branch, she took the Bodhi-tree thus separated, and set it in a golden vase, and 115 this, by her miraculous power, she brought hither, O great king, with (her company of) five hundred bhikkhupīs, surrounded by the devatās, and she placed it, with its golden 116 vase, in the outstretched right hand of the Sambuddha. The Tathāgata received it and gave it to the king Samiddha to 117

¹ *Ficus glomerata*.

² According to the Tīkā king Sobhana (Buddhavamsa XXIV. 16: Sobha) in the city Sobhavatī.

plant; the lord of the earth planted it there in the Mahānoma garden.

118 'Then the Sambuddha went northward from the Sirisamāla
and preached the doctrine to the people, sitting in the Nāga-
119 mālaka. When they heard the preaching of the doctrine, O
king, the conversion of twenty thousand living beings took
120 place. When he had gone yet further northward to the place
where the former Buddha had sat, and after he, sitting there,
121 had sunk into meditation, the Sambuddha, rising from thence
again, preached the doctrine to those around him, and even at
that place did ten thousand living beings attain to the fruit
of the path (of salvation).

122 'Giving his girdle as a relic for the homage of the people,
123 and leaving the bhikkhūnī here with her following and also
his disciple Mahāsumba with a thousand bhikkhus, the Sam-
124 buddha, standing on this side of the Ratanamāla in the
Sudassanamāla, delivered exhortations to the people; then
rising with the brotherhood into the air, the Conqueror
returned to Jambudīpa.

125 'Third¹ in our age of the world was the Conqueror of the
Kassapa clan, the all-knowing Teacher, compassionate toward
the whole world.

126 'The Mahāmegha-grove was called (at that time) Mahāsā-
127 gara; the capital, named Visāla, lay toward the West. Jayanta
was the name of the king of that region then, and this isle
bore then the name of Maṇḍadīpa.

128 'At that time a hideous and life-destroying war had broken
129 out between king Jayanta and his younger royal brother. When
Kassapa, gifted with the ten powers,² the Sage, full of com-
passion, knew how great was the wretchedness caused to
130 beings by this war, then, to bring it to an end and afterwards
to achieve the converting of beings and progress of the doctrine
131 in this island, he, urged on by the might of his compassion,
came through the air surrounded by twenty thousand (disciples)
like to himself, and he stood on the Subhākūṭa-mountain.

132 'Standing there, O king of men, the King of the Wise, the
Great Sage, proclaimed his will: "All men in Maṇḍadīpa

¹ Cf. 15. 57 foll., and 91 foll.

² See note to 3. 6.

shall see me this day; and if they only desire to come (to me) 133
all men shall draw near to me without trouble and speedily."

'When the king and the townsfolk saw the Prince of the 134
Wise, shining and making the mountain to shine, they came
swiftly thither. The many people who were coming to the 135
mountain bringing offerings to the devatās, that their own
side might win the victory, believed the Guide of the World 136
with the brotherhood to be (such) devatās; and the king and
the prince amazed, halted in their battle. When the king, 137
greatly rejoicing, had greeted the King of the Wise, had
invited him to a repast and had brought him to the city, the
monarch then thinking: "This stately and pleasant place is 138
fitting for the resting-place of the King of the Wise with the
brotherhood and not too small," made the Sambuddha and 139
the brotherhood sit here on beautiful seats in a fine pavilion
raised (by him).

'When the people of the island saw the Guide of the World 140
with the brotherhood sitting here, they brought gifts hither
from every side. And the king served the Guide of the 141
World together with the brotherhood with his own food, both
hard and soft, and with such (foods) as were brought by sundry
other folk.

'While the Conqueror was sitting, after the meal, on this 142
very spot, the king offered him the Mahāsāgara-garden as
a precious gift. And when the Mahāsāgara-grove, gay with 143
blossoms at an unwonted season, was accepted by the Buddha,
the great earth quaked. And sitting even here, the Master 144
preached the doctrine; then twenty thousand persons attained
to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

'When the Blessed One had stayed the day through in the 145
Mahāsāgara-grove, he went in the evening to that plot of
ground where the former Bodhi-trees had stood, and after he, 146
sitting there, had sunk into deep meditation, the Sambuddha,
rising from thence again, thought, mindful of the salvation of
the island-people; "Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi- 147
tree, the nigrodha,¹ with her, the bhikkhūṇī Sudhammā shall
come now with (other) bhikkhūṇīs."

¹ *Ficus Indica*, the banyan-tree.

- 148 'When the therī knew his thought she forthwith took the
 149 king¹ of that region with her and went to the tree. Then
 when the therī of wondrous power had drawn a line with
 a pencil of red arsenic around the south branch, she took the
 150 Bodhi-branch thus separated and set it in a golden vase, and
 this, by her miraculous power, she brought hither, O great king,
 with (her company of) five hundred bhikkhūṇīs, surrounded by
 151 the devatās; and she placed it with its golden vase, in the
 out-stretched right hand of the Sambuddha; the Tathāgata
 152 received it and gave it to the king Jayanta to plant; the
 lord of the earth planted it there in the Mahāsāgara-garden.
- 153 'Then the Buddha went northward from the Nāgamālaka
 and preached the doctrine to the people seated in the Asoka-
 154 mālaka. When they heard the preaching of the doctrine,
 O ruler of men, even there the conversion of four thousand
 155 living beings took place. When he had then gone yet further
 northward to the place where the former Buddhas had sat,
 and after he, sitting there, had sunk into meditation, the
 156 Sambuddha, rising from thence again, preached the doctrine
 to those around him; and even in that place did ten thousand
 living beings attain to the fruit of the path (of salvation).
- 157 'Giving his rain-cloak as a relic for the homage of the people,
 158 and leaving the bhikkhūṇī here with her following, and also
 his disciple Sabbananda with a thousand bhikkhus, he, stand-
 159 ing on this side of the river (and) of the Sudassanamālā in
 the Somanassamālaka, delivered exhortations to the people;
 then rising with the brotherhood into the air, the Conqueror
 returned to Jambudīpa.
- 160 'Fourth in our age of the world lived the Conqueror
 Gotama, the teacher, knowing the whole truth, compassionate
 161 toward the whole world. When he came hither the first time
 he drove forth the yakkhas, when he came hither again the
 162 second time he subdued the nāgas. When, besought by the
 nāga Maṇiakkhi in Kalyāṇī, he returned the third time, he took
 163 his meal there with the brotherhood; and when he had taken

¹ According to the *Ṭikā* king Kiki in the city of Bārāṇasī (Benares).
 See *Buddhavaṃsa* XXV.33; *Therīgāthā*, Comm. (Paramatthadīpanī V),
 p. 17ⁿ, &c.

his ease¹ in the place where the former Bodhi-trees had stood and in the place here appointed for the thūpa and (also) in the place (appointed for the guarding) of those (things) used by him (and left as) relics,² and when he had gone to this 164 side of the place where the former Buddhas had stood, the great Sage, the Light of the World, since there were then no human beings in Laṅkādīpa, uttered exhortations to the host 165 of devatās, dwelling in the island, and to the nāgas; then rising into the air with the brotherhood the Conqueror returned to Jambudīpa.

'Thus was this place, O king, visited by four Buddhas; on 166 this spot, O great king, will the thūpa stand hereafter, with 167 the relic-chamber for a doṇa³ of the relics of the Buddha's body; (it will be) a hundred and twenty cubits⁴ high and (will be) known by the name Hemamālī.'

Then said the ruler of the earth: 'I myself will build it.' 168 'For thee, O king, are many other tasks to fulfil here. Do 169 thou carry them out; but one descended from thee shall build this (thūpa). A son of thy brother⁵ the vice-regent Mahānāma, one named Yaṭṭhālāyakatissa, will hereafter be 170 king, his son will be the king named Goṭṭābhaya; his son 171 will be (the king) named Kākavappatissa; this king's son, O king, will be the great king named Abhaya, renowned under 172 the title Duṭṭhagāmaṇi: he, great in glory, wondrous power and prowess, will build the thūpa here.'

Thus spoke the therā, and because of the therā's words the 173

¹ Lit. 'when he had enjoyed by sitting down (in meditation) the place, &c.'

² Cf. 15, 88, 122, 157. Paribbhogadhātu is a relic consisting of something used by the dead Saint, in opposition to sarīradhātu 'body-relic', i. e. remains of his body.

³ A certain measure of capacity. See CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s. v.

⁴ According to the *Abhidhānaṭṭhapaṇṇāsa* a ratana or hattha is equal to 2 vidatthi (= 8½-9 inches). See RURA DAVID, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 15. The total height of the thūpa would accordingly be nearly 180 feet. This is exactly the height of the main body of the Ruwanweli-dagaba without the 'tee'. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura*, p. 27 and Plate XXIV.

⁵ Cf. 22. 1 foll.

monarch set up here a pillar of stone, whereon he inscribed these sayings.

- 174 And as the great and most wise therā, Mahinda of wondrous
power, accepted the pleasant Mahāmegha-grove, the Tissārāma,
175 he, the unshakeable caused the earth to quake in eight places;¹
and when going his round for alms he had entered the city
176 like unto the ocean and had taken his meal in the king's
house, he left the palace, and when, sitting there in the
Nandana-grove, he had preached to the people the sutta
177 Aggikkhandhopamā² and had made a thousand persons part-
takers in the fruit of the path (of sanctification) he rested
(again) in the Mahāmegha-grove.
- 178 When the therā had eaten on the third day in the king's
house, and sitting in the Nandana-grove had preached the
179 Āśvisūpamā,³ and had thereby led a thousand persons to
conversion, the therā went thence to the Tissārāma.
- 180 But the king, who had heard the preaching, seated himself
at the therā's feet and asked: 'Does the doctrine of the
Conqueror stand, sir?' 'Not yet, O ruler of men, only,
181 O lord of nations, when the boundaries are established⁴ here
for the uposatha-ceremony and the other acts (of religion),
according to the command of the Conqueror, shall the
doctrine stand.'
- 182 Thus spoke the great therā, and the king answered thus:
'I will abide under the Buddha's command, thou Giver of
183 light! Therefore establish the boundaries with all speed,
taking in the city.' Thus spoke the great king and the therā
184 answered thus: 'If it be so, then do thou thyself, lord of the
earth, mark out the course of the boundary; we will establish
185 it.' 'It is well,' said the lord of the earth, and even like the
king of the gods leaving the Nandana⁵ (garden) he went
forth from the Mahāmeghavanārāma into his palace.
- 186 When the therā on the fourth day had eaten in the king's
house, he preached, sitting in the Nandana-grove, the Ana-

¹ Cf. 15, 25, 28, 31, 33, 37, 45, 47, 55.

² Cf. note to 12. 34.

³ See the note to 12. 26.

⁴ Cf. note to 14. 32.

⁵ Nandana or Nanda (see 31. 44) is the name of a pleasure-garden in Indra's heaven.

matagga-discourse,¹ and when he had given there a thousand 187
 persons to drink of the draught of immortality, the great
 therā went to the Mahāmeghavanārāma. But having com- 188
 manded in the morning to beat the drum and to adorn the
 splendid city and the road leading to the vihāra and all around
 the vihāra, the lord of chariots came upon his car to his ārāma, 189
 adorned with all his ornaments, together with his ministers
 and the women of the harem, with chariots, troops and beasts 190
 for riders,² in a mighty train.

When he had here sought out the theras and paid his
 respects to these to whom respect was due, he ploughed a 191
 furrow in a circle, making it to begin near the ford on the
 Kadamba-river, and ended it when he (again) reached the
 river.³

When he had assigned boundary-marks on the furrow that 192
 the king had ploughed and had assigned the boundaries for
 thirty-two mālakas and for the Thupārāma, the great therā 193
 of lofty wisdom, then fixed the inner boundary-marks like-
 wise according to custom; and thus the ruler (of his senses) 194
 did on one and the same day establish all the boundaries.
 The great earth quaked when the fixing of the boundaries
 was completed.

When on the fifth day the therā had eaten in the king's 195
 house he preached, sitting in the Nandana-grove, the Khajja-
 nīya-suttanta,⁴ to a great multitude of people, and when he 196

¹ Note to 12. 31.

² The *Ṭikā* explains *sayoggabalavāhana* so: *etiha yoggam
 ti rathasakatādi, balaṃ ti senā, vāhane ti hatthiassādi*.
Cf. 25. 1.

³ On this verse cf. *Mah. ed.*, p. xxvii. The ford of the Kadamba-
 river from which the boundary line starts and to which it returns is
 called in the *Ṭikā* Gaṅgalatittha. Instead of the one verse 191 the
 Sinhalese MSS. have, in all, twenty verses which describe how the
 king himself guides the plough and in which the different areas
 marked off are designated. The passage is a later interpolation,
 drawn chiefly from a *Simākathā* of the Mahāvihāra.

⁴ The *Khajjanīyavagga* from S. III, pp. 81-104. Specially, perhaps,
 the *Sīhasuttanta* (XXII. 79) on pp. 86-91.

had given to drink of the ambrosial draught to a thousand persons there, he rested (again) in the Mahāmegha-grove.

- 197 When also on the sixth day the therā had eaten in the king's house he preached, sitting in the Nandana-grove, the
198 Gomayapīṇḍi-sutta,¹ and after the wise preacher had thus brought a thousand persons to conversion he rested (again) in the Mahāmegha-grove.

- 199 When on the seventh day the therā had eaten in the king's house he preached, sitting in the Nandana-garden, the
200 Dhammacakkapavattana-suttanta,² and having brought a thousand persons to conversion he rested (again) in the
201 Mahāmegha-grove, when he, the light-giver, had in this wise brought eight thousand five hundred persons to conversion in the space of only seven days.

- 202 The Nandana-grove being the place where the holy one had made the true doctrine to shine forth, is called the Jotivana.³
203 And in the very first days the king commanded that a pāsāda be built for the therā in the Tisārāma, and he had the bricks
204 of clay dried speedily with fire. The dwelling-house was dark-coloured and therefore they named it the Kālapāsāda-pariveṇa.⁴

- 205 Then did he set up a building for the great Bodhi-tree, the
206 Lohapāsāda,⁵ a salākā-house,⁶ and a seemly refectory. He built many pariveṇas in an excellent manner, and bathing-tanks and buildings for repose, by night and by day, and so

¹ I. e. 'the discourse on the clod of cow-dung.' S. III, p. 143 foll.

² Cf. note to 12. 41.

³ I. e. 'Grove of light.'

⁴ I. e. 'Cell of the black house.' On pāsāda see note to 27. 14.

⁵ We have here apparently a tradition according to which the Lohapāsāda was built by Devānappiyyatissa and not first erected by Duttthagāmaṇi. The Tika explains the passage in this way that Duttthagāmaṇi built his 'House of Bronze' when the old one had been removed.

⁶ Food, given as a present to the monastery collectively, is distributed to the monks by tickets or orders called salākā ('slip' of wood, bark, &c.). The building where the distribution takes place, is the salākagga 'salākā-house.' CHILDERS, P.D., s.v. salākā.

forth. The pariveṇa on the brink of the bathing-tank (which 207 was allotted) to the blameless (thera) is called the Sunhāta-pariveṇa.¹ The pariveṇa on the spot where the excellent 208 Light of the Island used to walk up and down is called Digha-cankamana.² But the pariveṇa which was built where he had 209 sat sunk in the meditation³ that brings the highest bliss is called from this the Phalagga-pariveṇa.⁴ The (pariveṇa built there) 210 where the thera had seated himself leaning against a support is called from this the Therāpassaya-pariveṇa.⁵ The (pariveṇa 211 built) where many hosts of gods had sought him out and sat at his feet is therefore called the Maruḡaṇa-pariveṇa.⁶ The 212 commander of the king's troops, Dighasandana, built a little pāsāda for the thera with eight great pillars. This 213 famed pariveṇa, the home of renowned men,⁷ is called the Dighasandasenāpati-pariveṇa.

The wise king, whose name contains the words 'beloved of 214 the gods', patronizing the great thera Mahinda, of spotless mind, first built here in Lankā this Mahāvihāra.⁸

Here ends the fifteenth chapter, called 'The Acceptance of the Mahāvihāra', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ I.e. the cell of him who is well-bathed or purified. The uahā-tapāpo 'who has washed away the evil' is Mahinda, as also is the dipadīpo in 208.

² I.e. the long walk or the long hall for walking. See note to 5. 225.

³ On the eight samāpatti, i.e. the states of trance reached by samādhi 'meditation', see KERN, *Manual*, p. 57.

⁴ I.e. cell of the highest reward.

⁵ I.e. cell of the thera's support.

⁶ I.e. cell of the hosts of gods.

⁷ On this allusion to the author of the Mahāvamsa, Mahānāma, see GEIGER, *Dip. and Mah.* (English ed.), p. 41.

⁸ Mahāvihāra, 'the great monastery,' is henceforth the name for the Mahāmeghavanārāma.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE CETIYAPAB- BATA-VIHĀRA

- 1 Going into the city for alms and showing favour to the
 people (by preaching); eating in the king's house and showing
2 favour to the king (by preaching) the thera dwelt twenty-six
 days in the Mahāmegha-grove. But when, on the thirteenth
 day of the bright half of the month Āsāḷha,¹ the lofty-souled
3 (thera) had eaten in the great king's house and had preached
4 (to him) the Mahappamāda-suttanta,² he went thence, for
 he would fain have a vihāra founded on the Cetiya-mountain,³
 departing by the east gate (he went) to the Cetiya-mountain.
5 When the king heard that the thera had gone thither he
 mounted his car, and taking the two queens with him he
6 followed hard after the thera. When the theras had bathed in
 the Nāgacatukka-tank⁴ they stood in their due order to go
7 up to the mountain-top. Then the king stepped down from the
 car and stood there respectfully greeting the theras. 'Where-
 fore, O king, art thou come wearied by the heat?' they said;
8 and on the reply: 'Troubled by your departure am I come,'
 the theras answered: 'We are come to spend the rain-season
9 even here,' and he who was versed in the rules⁵ (of the

¹ See note to I. 12.

² I.e. 'Great discourse on vigilance.' There are several suttas in S., bearing the title appamādasutta. See note to 5. 68.

³ The later name of the Missaka-mountain, given on account of the many shrines built there. See note to 13. 14.

⁴ See note to 14. 36.

⁵ I.e. who was versed in the khandhas, i.e. the sections of the vinaya (CHILDERS s.v. vinayo). The vassūpanāyika khandhaka is Mahāvagga III (OLDENBERG, the Vin. Pī. i, p. 187 foll.; S.B.E. xiii, p. 298 foll.). During the rainy season the bhikkhus were forbidden to travel, but used to live together in a vihāra. See KERN, *Man. al.*, p. 89 foll., on the vassavāsa.

order), expounded to the king the chapter concerning the vassa.

When the king's nephew, the chief minister Mahārīṭṭha, 10 who stood near the king with his fifty-five elder and younger brothers, heard this, after seeking the king's leave, they 11 received the pabbajjā that very day from the therā, and all these wise men attained to arahantship even in the shaving-hall.¹

When the king, on that same day, had made a beginning 12 with the work of building sixty-eight rock-cells about (the place where) the Kantaka-cetiya (afterwards stood), he 13 returned to the city; but the theras remained in that spot, going at the appointed time, full of compassion (for the people) to the city to beg alms there.

When the work on the rock-cells was finished, on the full- 14 moon day of the month Āsāḷha, the king came and gave the vihāra to the theras as a consecrated offering.

When the therā, who had passed beyond the boundaries (of 15 evil) had established the boundaries for the thirty-two mālakas² and the vihāra, then did he on the very same day in the Tumburu-mālaka, which was marked out as the first of all, 16 confer the upasampadā on all those who were weary of the pabbajjā.³ And these sixty-two arahants, taking up their 17 abode during the rain-season all together on the Cetiya-mountain, showed favour to the king (by their teaching).

And, in that the hosts of gods and men drew near with 18 reverence to him, the leader of the host (of his disciples), and to his company that had attained to wide renown for virtue, they heaped up great merit.

Her ends the sixteenth chapter, called 'The Acceptance of the Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Where, as is the rule at the admission of bhikkhus, their hair was shaved off.

² See note to 15. 29.

³ Pabbajjāpekkhānam stands for pabbajjā-uppekkhānam. Mahārīṭṭha and his brothers have only received the pabbajjā or first ordination a few days before (see 11), but they already long for the higher ordination, the upasampadā.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ARRIVAL OF THE RELICS

- 1 WHEN the great therā of lofty wisdom, after spending the
rain-season (thus), had held the pavāraṇā-ceremony,¹ on the
full-moon day of the month Kattika,² he spoke thus to the
2 king: 'Long is the time, O lord of men, since we have seen
the Sambuddha. We lived a life without a master. There is
3 nothing here for us to worship.' And to the question: 'Yet
hast thou not told me, sir, that the Sambuddha is passed into
nibbāna?' he answered: 'If we behold the relics we behold the
4 Conqueror.' 'My intention to build a thūpa is known to you.
5 I will build the thūpa, and do you discover the relics.' The
therā replied to the king: 'Take counsel with Sumana'; and
the king said to the sāmaṇera: 'Whence shall we have the
6 relics?' 'O lord of men, when thou hast commanded the
adorning of the city and the road and hast taken the uposatha-
vows upon thyself³ together with thy company, go thou, in
7 the evening, mounted on thy state-elephant, bearing the white
parasol and attended by musicians,⁴ to the Mahānāga-park.
8 There, O king, wilt thou receive relics of him who knew how
to destroy the elements of existence,'⁵ so said the sāmaṇera
Sumana to the (king), glad of heart.

¹ Pavāreṭvā. On the pavāraṇā-ceremony at the conclusion of
vassa see Mahāvagga IV. *Vin. Pit.*, ed. OLDENBERG, i, p. 157 foll.;
S.B.E. xiii, p. 325 foll.

² See note to 1. 12.

³ Uposathī is a synonym of uposathika. The uposatha-vows
as kept by laymen consist in 'fasting and abstinence from sensual
pleasures' (see CHILDERS, s.v. uposatho).

⁴ The *Ṭikā* explains tālāvacarasamphito by sabbehi tālā-
vacarehi sahito bherimudīṅgādīturiyahatthapurisehi pa-
rivārīto.

⁵ A play on the word dhātu, meaning 'element' (see KERN,
Manual, p. 51, n. 2), and dhātu 'relics'.

And now the *thera* went forth from the king's house to the 9
Cetiya-mountain and summoned the *sāmaṇera* *Sumana*, bent
 on holy thoughts.¹ 'Go, friend *Sumana*, and when thou art 10
 come to the fair *Pupphapura*,² deliver to the mighty king, thy
 grandfather, this charge from us: "Thy friend, O great king, 11
 the great king, the friend of the gods,³ desires, being converted
 to the doctrine of the Buddha, to build a *thūpa*; do thou give 12
 him the relics of the Sage and the alms-bowl that the Master
 used, for many relics of the (Buddha's) body are with thee."⁴
 When thou hast received the alms-bowl full (of relics) go to 13
 the fair city of the gods and declare to *Sakka*, king of the
 gods, this charge from us: "The relic, the right eye-tooth of 14
 the (Buddha), worthy of the adoration of the three worlds, is
 with thee, O king of the gods, and the relic of the right
 collar-bone. Honour thou the tooth; the collar-bone of the 15
 Master do thou give away. Grow not weary of thy duty
 toward the isle of *Lankā*, O lord of the gods!"

And the *sāmaṇera* of wondrous power, replying: 'So be it, 16
 sir,' went, that very moment, to the king *Dhammāsoka* and 17
 found him even as he stood at the foot of a *sāla*-tree and
 honoured the beautiful and sacred *Bodhi*-tree with the offerings
 of the *Kattika*-festival.

When he had delivered the *thera*'s charge and had accepted 18
 the alms-bowl full of relics received from the king he went to
 the *Himalaya*. When, on the *Himalaya*, he had set down that 19
 most sacred bowl with the relics, he went to the king of
 the gods and delivered the *thera*'s charge.

Sakka, the lord of the gods, took from the *Cūlāmaṇi-cetiya* ⁴ 20
 the right collar-bone (of the Buddha) and gave it to the
sāmaṇera. Thereupon the ascetic *Sumana* took the relic and 21
 the bowl with the relics likewise and returning to the *Cetiya*-
 mountain he handed them to the *thera*.

¹ Play on the name *Sumana* and *su-manogati*. *Wijesinha*
 translates the surname 'whose mind was well-disposed to the work
 that was to be confided to him'. For the rendering in the *Tikā* see
Mah. ed., note on this passage.

² See note to 4. 31.

³ *Maruppiya*, a synonym of *Devānaṃpiya*.

⁴ A sacred shrine supposed to be erected in the heaven of gods.

- 22 In the evening the king, at the head of the royal troops, went to the Mahānāga-park, in the manner (already) told.
- 23 The therā put all the relics down there on the mountain, and therefore the Missaka-mountain was called the Cetiya-mountain.
- 24 When the therā had put the vessel with the relics on the Cetiya-mountain, he took the collar-bone relic and went with his company of disciples to the appointed place.
- 25 'If this is a relic of the Sage then shall my parasol bow down, of itself, my elephant shall sink upon its knees, this
- 26 relic-urn, coming (toward me) with the relic shall descend upon my head.' So thought the king, and as he thought so
- 27 it came to pass. And as if sprinkled with ambrosia the monarch was full of joy, and taking (the urn) from his head he set it on the back of the elephant.
- 28 Then did the elephant trumpet joyfully and the earth quaked. And the elephant turned about and having entered
- 29 the fair city by the east gate, together with the theras and the troops and vehicles, and having left it again by the south
- 30 gate he went to the building of the Great Sacrifice set up¹ to the west of the spot where (afterwards) the cetiya of the Thūpārāma² was; and when he had turned around on the place
- 31 of the Bodhi-tree he remained standing, his head turned toward the east.

But at that time the place of the thūpa was covered with flowering kadamba-plants and ādāri-creepers.³

- 32 When the god among men had caused this holy place, protected by the gods, to be cleared and adorned, he began forth-
- 33 with, in seemly wise, to take the relic down from the

¹ Evidently the *mahejjāghara* mentioned in 10. 90. There, as here, the Sinhalese MSS. have *pabbheda* instead of *mahejjā*.

² The thūpa of the Thūpārāma, the erection of which is described in our passage, is situated near the southern wall of the city in the Nandana-garden. Cf. note to I. 82.

³ This creeper is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* in five places, besides the above passage: 12. 73, 33. 55, 35. 104: *kadambapupphagumba*; 25. 48: *kadambapupphavalli*; 35. 116: *kadambapupphathāna*. For *ādāri* I would refer to the Skt. names of plants, *ādāra* and *ādāribimbī*.

elephant's back. But this the elephant would not suffer, and the king asked the *thera* what he wished. And the other 34 answered: 'He would fain have (them) put in a place that is equal (in height) to his back; therefore will he not suffer them to be taken down.'

Then with lumps of dry clay that he had commanded to be 35 brought ¹ straightway from the dried *Abhaya-tank* ² he raised a pile even as (high as the elephant), and when the king had 36 caused this high-standing place to be adorned in manifold ways and had caused the relic to be taken down from the back of the elephant, he placed it there.

(Then) having entrusted the elephant with the guarding of 37 the relic and having left him there, the king, whose heart was set on building a *thūpa* for the relic, and who speedily com- 38 manded many people to make bricks, went back with his ministers to the city meditating (to hold) a solemn festival for the relic. But the great *thera* *Mahinda* went with his company of 39 disciples to the beautiful *Mahāmegha-grove* and rested there.

During the night the elephant paced around the place with 40 the relic; through the day he stood with the relic in the hall on the spot (destined) for the *Bodhi-tree*. When the 41 monarch, obedient to the *thera's* wish, had built up ³ the *thūpa* knee-high above that (brick-)work and had caused the (festival 42 of the) laying down of the relic to be proclaimed in that same place, he went thither and from this region and that, from every side a multitude assembled there.

Amid this assembly the relic rose up in the air from the 43 elephant's back, and floating in the air plain to view, at the height of seven *tālas*, throwing the people into amazement, 44

¹ Read *ānāpetvā*, as in good MSS., instead of *anāpetvā*.

² See note to 10. 84.

³ According to the MSS. *cināpetvā* should be read, not *khanāpetvā* (TURNOUR). The sense is as follows: The original brickwork, as described in v. 35, remains standing. Its surface forms the base for the relic-chamber. Round about and from this the building of the *thūpa* is continued knee-high (*jaṅghāmatta*) so as to be finished in the shape of a hemisphere, after the placing of the relic in the chamber thus formed.

- it wrought that miracle of the double appearances,¹ that caused the hair (of the beholders) to stand on end, even as (did) the Buddha under the Gaṇḍamba-tree. By the rays of light and streams of water pouring down therefrom was the whole land of Laṅkā illumined and flooded again and again.
- When the Conqueror lay stretched upon the couch of the great nibbāṇa the five great resolutions were formed by him, who was endowed with the five eyes.²
- The south branch of the great Bodhi-tree, grasped by Asoka, being detached of itself, shall place itself in a vase. When it is so placed the branch, illumining all the regions of the world, shall put forth lovely rays of six colours from its fruits and leaves. Then, rising up with the golden vase, this delightful (tree) shall abide invisible for seven days in the region of snow. My right collar-bone, if it be laid in the Thūpārāma, shall rise in the air and perform the miracle of the double appearances. If my pure relics, filling a dopa-measure, are laid in the Hemamālīka-cetiya, that ornament of Laṅkā, they shall take the form of the Buddha, and rising and floating in the air, they shall take their place after having wrought the miracle of the double appearances.³
- Thus did the Tathāgata form five resolutions and therefore was the miracle then wrought by the relic. Coming down from the air it rested on the head of the monarch, and full of joy the king laid it in the cetiya. So soon as the relic was laid in the cetiya a wondrous great earthquake came to pass, causing a thrill (of awe). Thus are the Buddhas incomprehensible, and incomprehensible is the nature of the Buddhas, and incomprehensible is the reward of those who have faith in the incomprehensible.

¹ This yamakaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ is mentioned again 30. 82 (ambamāle pāṭihāraṃ) and 31. 99. The reference is to the miracle performed by the Buddha in Sīvattihī, to refute the heretical teachers (cf. Samanta-pāsādikā, OLDBERGER, *Vin. Pit.* iii, p. 332¹⁰). It consisted in the appearance of phenomena of opposite character in pairs, as for example, streaming forth of fire and water. This same miracle was performed by the Buddha repeatedly. (FAUßBÖLL, *Jātaka*, i, p. 77², 88²⁰.)

² Cf. note to 2. 1.

When the people saw the miracle they had faith in the 57
Conqueror. But the prince Mattābhaya, the king's younger
brother, who had faith in the King of Sages, begged leave of 58
the king of men and received the pabbajjā of the doctrine
with a thousand of his followers.

And from Cetāvīgāma and also from Dvāramandala¹ and also 59
from Vihārabiḥa, even as from Gallakapīṭha and from Upatis- 60
sagāma,² from each of these there received gladly the pabbajjā
five hundred young men in whom faith in the Tathāgata had
been awakened.

So all these who, (coming) from within the city and with- 61
out (the city), had received the pabbajjā of the Conqueror's
doctrine now numbered thirty thousand bhikkhus.

When the ruler of the earth had completed the beautiful 62
thūpa in the Thūpārāma he caused it to be worshipped per-
petually with gifts of many jewels and so forth. The women 63
of the royal household, the nobles, ministers, townspeople, and
also all the country-folk brought each their offerings.

And here the king founded a vihāra, the thūpa of which 64
had been built before; for that reason this vihāra was known
by the name Thūpārāma.

Thus by these relics of his body the Master of the World, 65
being already passed into nibbāna, truly bestowed salvation
and bliss in abundance on mankind. How can there be dis-
course (of this, as it was) when the Conqueror yet lived?

Here ends the seventeenth chapter, called 'The Arrival of
the Relics', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy
and emotion of the pious.

¹ See note to 10, 1.

² See note to 7, 44.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RECEIVING OF THE GREAT BODHI-TREE

1 THE monarch remembered the word spoken by the thera,
that he should send for the great Bodhi-tree and the theri,
2 and when, on a certain day during the rain-season, he was
sitting in his own city with the thera and had taken counsel
3 with his ministers he entrusted his own nephew, his minister
named Ariṭṭha, with this business.

When he had pondered (on the matter) and had sum-
4 moned him he spoke to him in these words: 'Canst thou per-
chance, my dear, go to Dhammāsoka to bring hither the great
5 Bodhi-tree and the theri Saṅghamittā?' 'I can bring them
hither, your majesty, if I be allowed, when I am come back,
to receive the pabbajjā, O most exalted!'

6 'So be it,' answered the king and sent him thence. When
he had received the command of the thera and the king and
7 had taken his leave he set forth on the second day of the
bright half of the month Assayaṇa,¹ and having embarked,
8 filled with zeal (for his mission) at the haven Jambukola and
having passed over the great ocean he came, by the power of
the thera's will, to the pleasant Pupphapura² even on the day
of his departure.

9 The queen Anulā, who, with five hundred maidens and five
10 hundred women of the royal harem had accepted the ten
precepts,³ did (meanwhile) pious as she was, (wearing) the

¹ See note to I. 12.

² See note to 4. 31.

* ³ Dasasīlam. These are the precepts: (1) not to kill any living being, (2) to refrain from taking the property of others, (3) not to commit adultery, (4) to avoid lying, (5) to drink no intoxicating drink, (6) only to take food at certain prescribed hours, (7) to avoid worldly amusements, (8) to use neither unguents nor ornaments, (9) not to sleep on a high or decorated bed, (10) not to accept any gold or silver. There are also frequent references to the five or eight pledges which

yellow robe, waiting for the pabbajjā, in discipline, looking for the coming of the therī, take up her abode, leading a holy life, 11 in the pleasant nunnery built by the king in a certain part of the city. Since the nunnery was inhabited by these lay- 12 sisters it became known in Laṅkā by the name Upāsikā-vihāra.¹

When the nephew Mahāriṭṭha had delivered the king's 13 message to the king Dhammāsoka he gave him (also) the therā's message: 'The spouse of the brother of thy friend, of the 14 king (Devānampiya), O thou elephant among kings, lives, longing for the pabbajjā, constantly in stern discipline. To be- 15 stow on her the pabbajjā do thou send the bhikkhupī Saṅghamittā and with her the south branch of the great Bodhi-tree.'

And the same matter, even as the therā had charged him, 16 he told the therī; the therī went to her father (Asoka) and told him the therā's purpose.

The king said: 'How shall I, when I no longer behold thee, 17 dear one, master the grief aroused by the parting with son and grandson?'²

She answered: 'Weighty is the word of my brother, O 18 great king; many are they that must receive the pabbajjā; therefore must I depart thither.' 'The great Bodhi-trees 19 must not be injured with a knife, how then can I have a branch!' mused the king. Then when he, following the 20 counsel of his minister Mahādeva, had invited the community of bhikkhus and had shown them hospitality the monarch asked: 'Shall the great Bodhi-tree be sent to Laṅkā, sirs?' 21

The therā Moggaliputta answered: 'It shall be sent thither,' and he related to the king the five great resolutions that the 22 (Buddha) gifted with the five eyes had formed.³

one may take on oneself. These are the first five or eight respectively of the above series. For members of the order the third precept is more rigorous, since sexual intercourse must be avoided altogether. See note on I. 62.

¹ I.e. 'Vihāra of the lay-sisters.'

² That is, from Mahinda and Sumana, the son of Saṅghamittā and Aggibrahmā (S. 170; 13. 4, &c.).

³ See 17. 46 foll.

- 23 When the ruler of the earth heard this he was glad, and when he had caused the road, seven yojanas long, leading to the great Bodhi-tree to be carefully cleaned he adorned it in
 24 manifold ways, and gold he caused to be brought to make ready a vase. Vissakamma,¹ who appeared in the semblance of
 25 a goldsmith, asked: 'How large shall I make the vase?' Then being answered: 'Thyself deciding the size do thou
 26 make it,' he took the gold, and having moulded it with his hand he made a vase in that very moment and departed thence.
- 27 When the king had received the beautiful vase measuring nine cubits² around and five cubits in depth and three cubits
 28 across, being eight finger-breadths thick, having the upper edge of the size of a young elephant's trunk, being in radiance
 29 equal to the young (morning) sun; when, with his army of four divisions³ stretching to a length of seven yojanas and a width of three yojanas, and with a great company of
 30 bhikkhus, he had gone to the great Bodhi-tree, decked with manifold ornaments, gleaming with various jewels and gar-
 31 landed with many coloured flags;⁴ when he, moreover, had ranged his troops about (the tree), bestrewn with manifold flowers and resounding with many kinds of music and had
 32 covered it round with a tent; when in seemly wise he had surrounded himself and the great Bodhi-tree with a thousand great theras at the head of a great company (of bhikkhus) and with more than a thousand princes who had been
 33 anointed as king, he gazed up with folded hands at the great Bodhi-tree.
- 34 Then from its south bough the branches vanished, leaving a stump four cubits long.

¹ The God of skill; Skt. Viśvakarman.

² See note to 15. 16.

³ Caturāṅginī senā, consisting of foot-soldiers, cavalry, combatants in chariots, and elephants.

⁴ On the world-wide custom of decking out sacred trees with gay strips of stuff see ANDRÉ, *Ethnogr. Parallelen und Vergleiche*, p. 58 foll. Concerning such a 'Lappenbaum' on the Terrace of the Ravan-welli-dagaba in Anurādhapura, see GEIGER, *Ceylon*, p. 181.

When the ruler of the earth saw the miracle he cried out, 35
rejoicing: 'I worship the great Bodhi-tree by bestowing
kingship (thereon),' and the monarch consecrated the great 36
Bodhi-tree as king of his great realm. When he had wor-
shipped the great Bodhi-tree with gifts of flowers and so
forth, and had passed round it three times turning to the
left¹ and had done reverence to it at eight points² with 37
folded hands, he had the golden vase placed upon a seat
inlaid with gold, adorned with various gems and easy to 38
mount, reaching to the height of the bough; and when, in
order to receive the sacred branch, he had mounted upon it,
grasping a pencil of red arsenic with a golden handle he drew 39
(with this) a line about the bough and uttered the solemn
declaration:³

'So truly as the great Bodhi-tree shall go hence to the 40
isle of Laṅkā, and so truly as I shall stand unalterably firm
in the doctrine of the Buddha, shall this fair south branch of 41
the great Bodhi-tree, severed of itself, take its place here in
this golden vase.'

Then the great Bodhi-tree severed, of itself, at the place 42
where the line was, floating above the vase filled with fragrant
earth. Above the line first (drawn) the ruler of men drew, 43
at (a distance of) three finger-breadths, round about ten
(further) pencil-strokes. And ten strong roots springing from 44
the first and ten slender from each of the other (lines) dropped
down, forming a net.

When the king saw this miracle he uttered even there, 45
greatly gladdened, a cry of joy, and with him his followers
all around and the community of bhikkhus raised, with glad 46

¹ Tipadakkhīṇaṃ katvā, i.e. had walked round it in such a manner that the thing or person worshipped is kept on the right hand.

² I.e. at the four cardinal points, E., N., &c., as well as the intermediate points, NE., NW., &c.

³ The conception of the *saccakiriyā*, lit. 'effect of the truth,' is hardly to be rendered in a translation. Beside the declaration it includes a wish. The *saccakiriyā* is always given in this form: *if or so truly as* such and such is the case shall such and such a thing come to pass. See CHILDERS, *P. D.*, s. v.

hearts, cries of salutation and round about was a thousandfold waving of stuffs.

- 47 Thus with a hundred roots the great Bodhi-tree set itself
there in the fragrant earth, converting the people to the
48 faith. Ten cubits long was the stem; five lovely branches
(were thereon), each four cubits long and (each) adorned with
49 five fruits, and on these branches were a thousand twigs.
Such was the ravishing and auspicious great Bodhi-tree.
- 50 At the moment that the great Bodhi-tree set itself in the
vase the earth quaked and wonders of many kinds came to
51 pass. By the resounding of the instruments of music (which
gave out sound) of themselves among gods and men, by the
ringing-out of the shout of salutation from the hosts of devas
52 and brahmas,¹ by the crash of the clouds, (the voices) of
beasts and birds, of the yakkhas and so forth and by the crash
53 of the quaking of the earth all was in one tumult. Beautiful²
rays of six colours going forth from the fruits and leaves of
54 the Bodhi-tree made the whole universe to shine. Then
rising in the air with the vase the great Bodhi-tree stayed
for seven days invisible in the region of the snow.
- 55 The king came down from his seat and sojourning there
for seven days he continually brought offerings in many ways
56 to the great Bodhi-tree. When the week was gone by all
the snow-clouds and all the rays likewise entered into the
57 great Bodhi-tree, and in the clear atmosphere the glorious
great Bodhi-tree was displayed to the whole people, planted
58 in the golden vase. Whilst wonders of many kinds came to
pass the great Bodhi-tree, plunging mankind into amazement,
descended on the earth.
- 59 Rejoiced by the many wonders the great king worshipped
again the great Bodhi-tree by (bestowing on it) his great
60 kingdom, and, when he had consecrated the great Bodhi-tree
unto great kingship he abode, worshipping it with divers
offerings, yet another week in that same place.
- 61 In the bright half of the month Assayuja on the fifteenth
uposatha-day he received the great Bodhi-tree; two weeks

¹ I. e. gods of lower and higher rank.

² Cf. on 53-54 the prophecy in 17. 48, 49.

after in the dark half of the month Assayuja on the four- 62
 teenth-uposatha day the lord of chariots brought the great
 Bodhi-tree, having placed it on a beautiful car on the same 63
 day, amid offerings, to his capital; and when he had built
 a beautiful hall (for it) adorned in manifold ways, and there 64
 on the first day of the bright half of the month Kattika had
 caused the great Bodhi-tree to be placed on the east side of
 the foot of a beautiful and great sāla-tree, he allotted to it 65
 day by day many offerings. But on the seventeenth day
 after the receiving (of the tree) new shoots appeared on it all 66
 at once; therefore, rejoicing, the lord of men once more wor-
 shipped the great Bodhi-tree by bestowing kingship upon it.
 When the great ruler had consecrated the great Bodhi- 67
 tree unto kingship he appointed a festival of offerings in
 divers forms for the great Bodhi-tree.

So it came to pass that the festival of adoration of the 68
 great Bodhi-tree, vivid with gay and lovely flags, great,
 brilliant and splendid, in the city of flowers, opened the hearts
 of gods and men (to the faith) (even as) in the lake the sun
 (opens the lotuses).¹

Here ends the eighteenth chapter, called 'The Receiving of
 the Great Bodhi-tree', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the
 serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The festival of the Bodhi-tree is compared to the sun (saramā),
 the city of flowers, i.e. Pāṭaliputta, to the lake (saras), and the
 hearts of gods and men to the lotus-flowers, growing in the lake.

CHAPTER XIX

THE COMING OF THE BODHI-TREE

- 1 WHEN the lord of chariots had appointed to watch over the Bodhi-tree eighteen persons¹ from royal families and eight
2 from families of ministers, and moreover eight persons from brahman families and eight from families of traders and persons from the cowherds likewise, and from the hyena
3 and sparrowhawk-clans,² (from each one man), and also from the weavers and potters and from all the handicrafts, from
4 the nāgas and the yakkhas; when then the most exalted prince had given them eight vessels of gold and eight of silver,³ and had brought the great Bodhi-tree to a ship on the
5 Ganges, and likewise the therī Saṅghamittā with eleven bhikkhūnīs, and when he had caused those among whom
6 Aritṭha was first to embark on that same ship, he fared forth from the city, and passing over the Viñjhā-mountains the prince arrived, in just one week, at Tāmaliṭṭi.⁴
7 The gods also and the nāgas and men who were worshipping the great Bodhi-tree with the most splendid offerings, arrived
8 in just one week. The ruler of the earth, who had caused the great Bodhi-tree to be placed on the shore of the great

¹ In devakula the word deva is evidently to be taken in the sense of 'king', and merely as a synonym of khattiya. Kula means here, as below in 30 and 31, the individual belonging to a class or craft.

² Taraccha (= Skt. tarakṣa) 'hyena', and kuliṅga (= Skt. kuliṅga), the name of a bird of prey, the 'fork-tailed shrike', seem here to designate certain clans or crafts. Perhaps the names have a totemistic origin. FRAXER, *Totemism*, p. 3 foll.

³ To water the tree during the journey.

⁴ The king travels by land over the Vindhyā range to the mouth of the Ganges. Here he again meets the ship carrying the Bodhi-tree and its escort. On Tāmaliṭṭi, see note to 11. 38.

ocean, worshipped it once more by (bestowing upon it) the great kingship.

When the wish-fulfiller had consecrated the great Bodhi- 9 tree as a great monarch, he then, on the first day of the bright half of the month Maggasira,¹ commanded that the same noble persons, eight of each (of the families) appointed 10 at the foot of the great sāla-tree to escort² the great Bodhi-tree, should raise up the great Bodhi-tree; and, descending 11 there into the water till it reached his neck, he caused it to be set down in seemly wise on the ship. When he had 12 brought the great therī with the (other) therīs on to the ship he spoke these words to the chief minister Mahāriṭṭha: 'Three times have I worshipped the great Bodhi-tree by 13 (bestowing) kingship (upon it). Even so shall the king my friend also worship it by (bestowing) kingship (upon it).'³

When the great king had spoken thus he stood with folded 14 hands on the shore, and as he gazed after the vanishing great Bodhi-tree he shed tears. 'Sending forth a net like rays of 15 sunshine the great Bodhi-tree of the (Buddha) gifted with the ten powers⁴ departs, alas! from hence!'

Filled with sorrow at parting from the great Bodhi-tree 16 Dhammāsoka returned weeping and lamenting to his capital.

The ship, laden with the great Bodhi-tree, fared forth into 17 the sea. A yojana around the waves of the great ocean were stilled. Lotus-flowers of the five colours blossomed all around 18 and manifold instruments of music resounded in the air.

By many devatās many offerings were provided, and the 19 nāgas practised their magic to win the great Bodhi-tree. The great therī Saṅghamittā, who had reached the last goal 20 of supernormal powers, taking the form of a griffin⁴ terrified

¹ See note to 1. 12.

² Uccāretum mahābodhiṃ is dependent on diṇṇehī. The passage is related directly to 19. 1, Mahābodhirakkhaṇatīham datvāna.

³ Cf. note to 3. 6.

⁴ The supaṇṇā (Skt. *suparṇa*) or garuḍā (Skt. *garuḍa*) are mythical creatures who are imagined as winged and are always considered as the sworn foes of the nāgas. See GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist Kunst in Indien*, p. 47 foll.

- 21 the great snakes. Terrified, the great snakes betook them to the great therī with entreaties, and when they had escorted the great Bodhi-tree from thence to the realm of the serpents
 22 and had worshipped it for a week by (bestowing on it) the kingship of the nāgas and by manifold offerings they brought
 23 it again and set it upon the ship. And on that same day the great Bodhi-tree arrived here¹ at Jambukola.

King Devānampiyatissa, thoughtful for the welfare of the
 24 world, having heard before from the śīmaṇera Sumana of its arrival, did, from the first day of the month Maggasira onwards, being always full of zeal, cause the whole of the high-road from the north gate even to Jambukola to be made
 25 ready, awaiting the arrival of the great Bodhi-tree, and abiding on the sea-shore, in the place where the Samuddapannāsālā² (afterwards) was, he, by the wondrous power of the therī, saw the great Bodhi-tree coming.

- 27 The hall that was built upon that spot to make known this miracle was known here by the name Samuddapannāsālā.
 28 By the power of the great therā and together with the (other) theras the king came, with his retinue, on that same day to Jambukola.³
 29 Then, uttering⁴ an exulting cry moved by joyous agitation at the coming of the great Bodhi-tree, he, the splendid (king),
 30 descended even neck-deep into the water; and when together with sixteen persons⁵ (of noble families) he had taken the great Bodhi-tree upon his head, had lifted it down upon the

¹ I.e. in Ceylon.

² I.e. the sea-hut.

³ In the reading of the text accepted by the Colombo Editors *tadahe va mahārājā*, the verb is missing from the sentence. Only the text of the Burmese MSS. *tadahe vāgamā rājā* yields a correct construction.

⁴ *Udānayaṃ*. By *udāna* is understood an utterance, mostly in metrical form, inspired by a particularly intense emotion, whether it be joyous or sorrowful. The *udāna* of Devānampiyatissa in the circumstances described was according to the *Ṭīkā*: *āgata vata re dasabalassa saramsijālavisajjanako bodhirukkho*, an exact parallel to v. 15.

⁵ *Kulehi*. Cf. on this note to 19. 1.

shore and caused it to be set in a beautiful pavilion, the king 31
of Laṅkā worshipped it by (bestowing on it) the kingship
of Laṅkā. When he had then entrusted his own govern-
ment to the sixteen persons and he himself had taken the 32
duties of a doorkeeper, the lord of men forthwith com-
manded solemn ceremonies of many kinds to be carried out
for three days.

On the tenth day he placed the great Bodhi-tree upon 33
a beautiful car and he, the king of men, accompanying this,
the king of trees, he who had knowledge of the (right) places 34
caused it to be placed on the spot where the Eastern Monastery
(afterwards) was and commanded a morning meal for the
people together with the brotherhood. Here the great them 35
Mahinda related fully to the king the subduing of the nāgas¹
which had been achieved by the (Buddha) gifted with the
ten powers.

When the monarch heard this from the them he caused 36
monuments to be raised here and there in such places as had
been frequented by the Master by resting there or in other
ways. And, moreover, when he had caused the great Bodhi- 37
tree to be set down at the entrance to the village of the
brahman Tivakka and in this and that place besides, he,
(escorting it) on the road, sprinkled with white sand, bestrewn 38
with various flowers, and adorned with planted pennons and
festoons of blossoms, bringing thereto offerings unweariedly, 39
day and night, brought the great Bodhi-tree on the fourteenth
day to the neighbourhood of the city of Anurādhapura, and 40
after, at the time when the shadows increase, he had entered
the city worthily adorned by the north gate amid offerings,
and (when he then), leaving the city again by the south gate, 41
had entered the Mahāmeghavanārāma consecrated by four
Buddhas,² and here had brought (the tree) to the spot worthily 42
prepared by Sumana's command, to the lovely place where
the former Bodhi-trees had stood, he, with those sixteen noble 43

¹ The reference is to the second visit of the Buddha to Ceylon, and the events related in Mah. I. 44-70.

² The comma after *pavesiya* in Mah. ed. v. 41^b should be struck out and placed after *catubuddhanisēvitam*.

persons, who were wearing royal ornaments, lifted down the great Bodhi-tree and loosed his hold to set it down.

44 Hardly had he let it leave his hands but it rose up eighty cubits into the air, and floating thus it sent forth glorious rays of six colours. Spreading over the island, reaching to 45 the Brahma-world, these lovely rays lasted till sunset. Ten thousand persons, who were filled with faith by reason of this miracle, gaining the spiritual insight and attaining to arahantship, received here the pabbajjā.

47 When the great Bodhi-tree at sunset was come down from (its place in the air) it stood firm on the earth under the 48 constellation Rohinī. Then did the earth quake. The roots growing over the brim of the vase struck down into the earth, 49 closing in the vase. When the great Bodhi-tree had taken its place all the people who had come together from (the country) round, worshipped it with offerings of perfumes, 50 flowers and so forth. A tremendous cloud poured forth rain, and cool and dense mists from the snow-region surrounded 51 the great Bodhi-tree on every side. Seven days did the great Bodhi-tree abide there, awaking faith among the people 52 invisible in the region of the snow. At the end of the week all the clouds vanished and the great Bodhi-tree became visible and the rays of six colours.

53 The great therā Mahinda and the bhikkhūnī Saṅghamittā went thither with their following and the king also with his 54 following. The nobles of Kājaragāma¹ and the nobles of Candanagāma and the Brahman Tivakka and the people too 55 who dwelt in the island came thither also by the power of the gods, (with minds) eagerly set upon a festival of the great Bodhi-tree. Amid this great assembly, plunged into amaze- 56 ment by this miracle, there grew out of the east branch, even as they gazed, a faultless fruit.

This having fallen off the therā took it up and gave it 57 to the king to plant. In a golden vase filled with earth mingled with perfumes, placed on the spot where the

¹ Now Kataragāma on the Menik-ganga, about ten miles north of Tissamahārāma in the province of Rohana. See PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 114 foll.

Mahāsana (afterwards) was, the ruler planted it. And while 58 they all yet gazed, there grew, springing from it, eight shoots; and they stood there, young Bodhi-trees four cubits high.

When the king saw the young Bodhi-trees he, with senses 59 all amazed, worshipped them by the gift of a white parasol¹ and bestowed royal consecration on them.

Of the eight Bodhi-saplings one was planted at the landing- 60 place Jambukola on the spot where the great Bodhi-tree had stood, after leaving the ship, one in the village of the 61 Brahman Tivakka, one moreover in the Thūpārāma, one in the Issarasamanārāma,² one in the Court of the First thūpa,³ one in the ārāma of the Cetiya-mountain, one in Kājara- 62 gāma and one in Candanagāma. But the other thirty-two 63 Bodhi-saplings which sprang⁴ from four (later) fruits (were planted) in a circle, at a distance of a yojana, here and there in the vihāra.

When thus, for the salvation of the people dwelling in the 64 island, by the majesty of the Sammāsambuddha, the king of trees, the great Bodhi-tree was planted, Anulā with her 65 following having received the pabbajjā from the theri Saṃghamittā, attained to arahantship. The prince Ariṭṭha also, 66 with a retinue of five hundred men, having received the pabbajjā from the thera, attained to arahantship. The eight 67 (persons from the) merchant-guilds who had brought the great Bodhi-tree hither were named therefrom the 'Guild of the Bodhi-bearers'.

In the nunnery, which is known as the Upāsikāvihāra⁵ 68

¹ Setacchatta, as symbol of royal rank.

² According to the Rasavāhini (ed. Saranātibattathera, Colombo, 1901, 1899), ii, 88³², situated on the dam of the Tissavāpi, now Issurumunagala, about a mile south of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura.

³ Paṭhamacetiya. See note to 14. 45.

⁴ This is to be taken as meaning that on four other branches of the tree the same miracle was accomplished as already described. Thus the Tīkā also says: pācīnasākhato avasesāsu ca catūsu sākāsu gahitehi itarehi pakkaphalehi jātā, sambhūtā uppannā ti attho.

⁵ Cf. 18. 12.

the great theri Saṃghamittā dwelt with her company (of
 69 nuns). She caused twelve buildings to be erected there, of
 which three buildings were important before others; in one
 70 of these great buildings she caused the mast of the ship that
 had come with the great Bodhi-tree to be set up, in one the
 rudder, and in one the helm,¹ from these they were named.
 71 Also when other sects² arose these twelve buildings were
 always used by the Hatthāḥhaka-bhikkhupis.

72 The king's state-elephant that was used to wander about at
 73 will³ liked to stay on one side of the city in a cool grotto, on
 the border of a Kadamba-flower-thicket, when he went to feed.
 Since they knew that this place was pleasing to the elephant
 74 they put up a post⁴ in the same spot. One day the elephant
 would not take the fodder (offered to him) and the king
 questioned the therā who had converted the island as to the
 75 reason. 'The elephant would fain have a thūpa built in the
 76 Kadamba-flower-thicket,' the great therā told the great king.
 Swiftly did the king, who was ever intent on the welfare of
 his people, build a thūpa, with a relic, in that very place and
 a house for the thūpa.⁵

77 The great theri Saṃghamittā, who longed for a quiet
 dwelling-place, because of the too great crowding of the
 78 vibhāra where she dwelt, she who was mindful for the progress
 of the doctrine and the good of the bhikkhupis, the wise one
 79 who desired another abode for the bhikkhupis went (once) to
 the fair cetiya-house, pleasant by its remoteness, and there she

¹ Kupayaṭṭhi, piya, aritta. According to the *Tikā* the three
 agārāni bore the names Cūlaganāgāra, Mahāganāgāra and Siriva-
 ḍḍhāgāra. They were afterwards designated Kupayaṭṭhiṭṭhapitaḥhara
 (Piyaṭṭhapitaḥhara, Arittaṭṭhapitaḥhara), 'House where the mast and
 so forth is set up.'

² The *Tikā* names as an example the sect of the Dhammarucikas.
 Cf. 5. 13.

³ The episode is to explain how the dwellers in the Upāsikāvihāra
 came by the name Hatthāḥhaka (i.e. 'elephant-post-nuns'), men-
 tioned by the poet in v. 71.

⁴ Āḥhaka, to tether the elephant during the night.

⁵ Thūpassa gharaṃ, thūpaḥharaṃ, or cetiyaḥharaṃ, as in
 v. 79, 82. See Appendix, s.v. thūpa.

the skilled (in choice) of dwelling-places, the blameless, stayed the day through.

When the king came to the convent for bhikkhunis to 80 salute the theri, he, hearing that she had gone thither, went also and when he had greeted her there and talked with her 81 and had heard the wish that was the cause of her going thither, then did he, who was skilled in (perceiving) the desires (of others), the wise, the great monarch Devānampiya- 82 tissa, order to be erected a pleasing convent for the bhikkhunis round about the thūpa-house. Since the convent for 83 the bhikkhunis was built near to the elephant-post therefore was it known by the name Hatthāḷhaka-vihāra.

The well-beloved, the great theri Saṅghamittā of lofty 84 wisdom now took up her abode in this pleasing convent for bhikkhunis.

Bringing about in such wise the good of the dwellers in 85 Laṅkā, the progress of the doctrine, the king of trees, the great Bodhi-tree, lasted long time on the island of Laṅkā, in the pleasant Mahāmegha-grove, endowed with many wondrous powers.

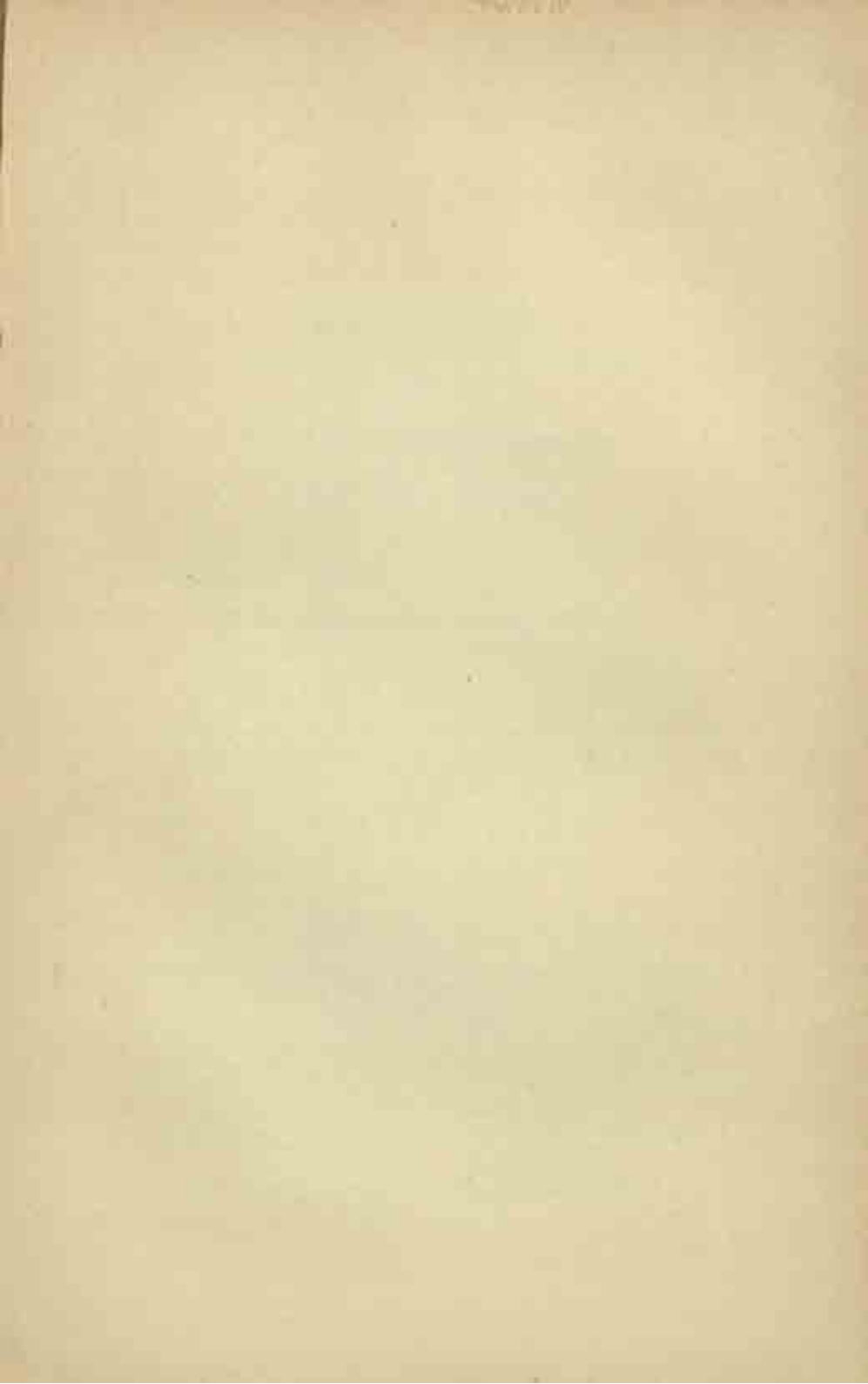
Here ends the nineteenth chapter, called 'The Coming of the Bodhi-tree', in the Mahāvāṇisa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XX

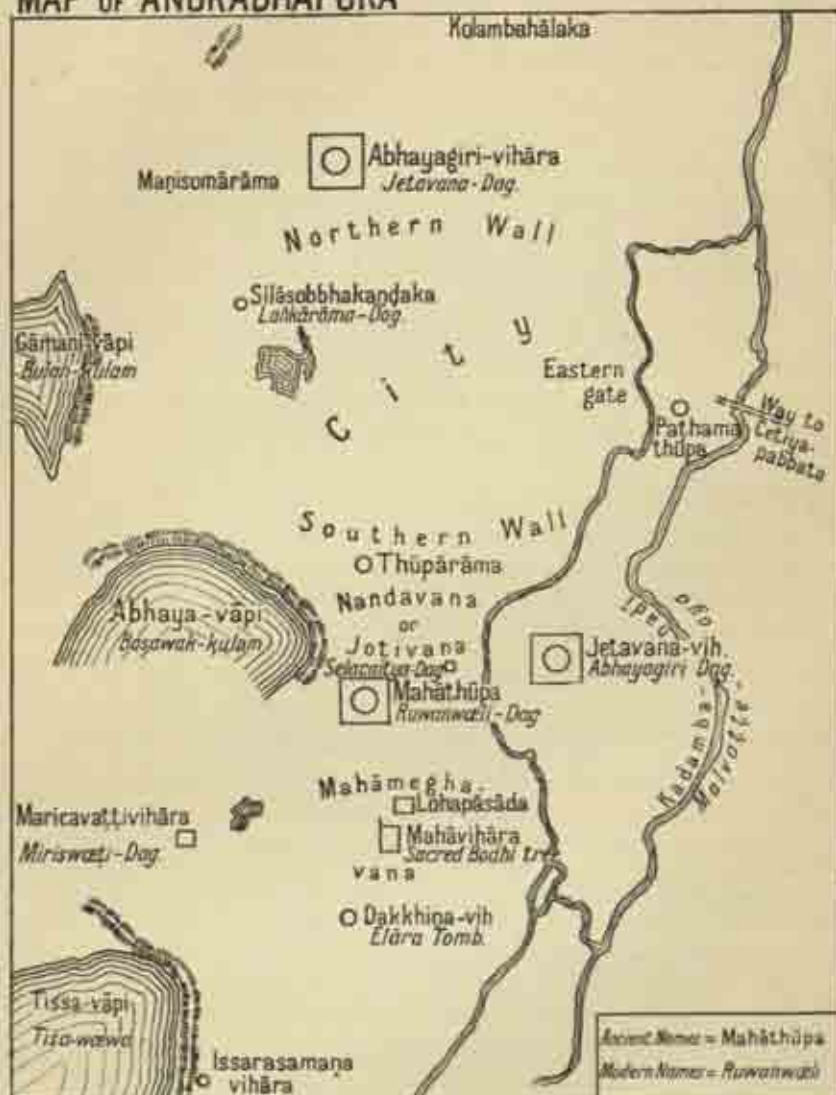
THE NIBBĀNA OF THE THERA

- 1 In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Dhammāsoka,
the great Bodhi-tree was planted in the Mahāmeghavanārāma.
- 2 In the twelfth year afterwards died the dear consort of the
king, Asandhimittā, the faithful (believer) in the Sambuddha.
- 3 In the fourth year after this the ruler of the earth Dhammā-
soka raised the treacherous Tissarakkhā to the rank of queen.
- 4 In the third year thereafter this fool, in the pride of her
beauty, with the thought: 'Forsooth, the king worships
5 the great Bodhi-tree to my cost!' drawn into the power of
hate and working her own harm, caused the great Bodhi-tree
6 to perish by means of a maṇḍu-thorn.¹ In the fourth year
after did Dhammāsoka of high renown fall into the power of
mortality. These make up thirty-seven years.
- 7 But when king Devānampiyatissa, whose delight was in
the blessing of the true doctrine, had brought to completion
8 in seemly wise his undertakings in the Mahāvihāra, on the
Cetiya-mountain and also in the Thūpārāma, he asked this
question of the therā who had converted the island, who was
9 skilled in (answering) questions: 'Sir, I would fain found
many vihāras here; whence shall I get me the relics to place
in the thūpas?'
- 10 'There are the relics brought hither by Sumana, with which
he filled the bowl of the Sambuddha and which were placed
11 here on the Cetiya-mountain, O king. Have these relics placed
on the back of an elephant and brought hither.' Thus addressed
12 by the therā he brought thus the relics hither. Founding
vihāras a yojana distant from one another he caused the relics

¹ In the *Dadhivāhana-jātaka* (FAUSBÖLL, *Jātaka*, ii, p. 105¹) is related how the kernel of a mango-fruit is deprived of its germinating power by being pierced with a maṇḍu-thorn.



MAP OF ANURADHAPURA



to be placed there in the thūpas, in due order. But the bowl 13 that the Sambuddha had used the king kept in his beautiful palace and worshipped continually with manifold offerings.

The (vihāra that was built) in the place where the five 14 hundred nobles dwelt when they had received the pabbajjā from the great therā,¹ was (named) Issarasamaṇaka.² That 15 (vihāra that was built) where five hundred vessas³ dwelt, when they had received the pabbajjā from the great therā, was (called) in like manner Vessagiri. But as for the grotto 16 inhabited by the great therā Mahinda, in the vihāra built upon the mountain,⁴ it was called the 'Mahinda-grotto'.

First the Mahāvihāra,⁵ then the (monastery) named Cetiya- 17 vihāra, third the beautiful Thūpārāma,⁶ which the thūpa (itself) preceded, fourth the planting of the great Bodhi-tree, 18 then fifth the (setting up) in seemly wise (of the) beautiful stone pillar which was intended to point to the place of the thūpa, on the place where the Great cetiya (afterwards) was, 19 and also the enshrining of the Sambuddha's collar-bone relic,⁷ sixth the Issarasamaṇa(vihāra), seventh the Tissa- 20 tank, eighth the Paṭhamathūpa,⁸ ninth the (vihāra) called Vessa(giri), then that pleasant (nunnery) which was known 21 as the Upāsikā(vihāra) and the (vihāra) called the Hatthalhaka, those two convents as goodly dwellings for the bhikkhunis; and (furthermore) for the accepting of food by the 22

¹ Cf. for this, 19. 66.

² See note to 19. 61.

³ I.e. people of the third caste (Skt. vaiśya). The Vessagiri-vihāra is situated near Anurādhapura, south of Issarasamaṇaka-vihāra. *Arch. Surv. of Ceylon*, Annual Rep. 1906 (xx. 1910), pp. 8-10; E. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, pp. 32, 33; WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 10 foll.

⁴ I.e. in Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra on Mihintale. I would now prefer to take the words sapabbata vihāre ('in the monastery, which, or the name of which was connected with the mountain') as belonging to the relative clause yā yā &c., and to place the comma here instead of after guhā.

⁵ Cf. note to 15. 214.

⁶ See 17. 62-64.

⁷ On this passage cf. Mah. ed., pp. xxix, xxx. On the gīvadhātu see I. 37 foll., on the śīlāyūpa 15. 173.

⁸ See note on 14. 45.

brotherhood of bhikkhus when they were visiting the dwelling of the bhikkhunis (called) Hatthāḷhaka(vihāra).¹ the refectory called Mahūpālī, easy of approach, beautiful, stored with all provisions and provided with service; then lavish gifts, consisting of the needful utensils for a thousand bhikkhus, (which things he gave) on the pavāraṇā-day, every year; in Nāgadīpa the Jambukolavihāra at this landing place,² the Tissamahāvihāra³ and the Pācīnārāma⁴: these works, caring for the salvation of the people of Laṅkā, Devānampiyatissa, king of Laṅkā, rich in merit and insight, caused to be carried out, even in his first year, as a friend to virtue, and his whole life through he heaped up works of merit. Our island flourished under the lordship of this king; forty years did he hold sway as king.

After his death, his younger brother since there was no son, the prince known by the name UTTIYA, held sway piously as king. But the great thera, Mahinda, who had taught the peerless doctrine of the Master, the sacred writings, the precepts of righteousness and the higher perfection,⁵ full

¹ The instrumental bhikkhusamghena belongs to the verbal noun gahaṇam. Subordinate to this noun are the parallel gerunds osarītvā and gantvāna, the last being almost a pleonasm. On this subject the Tīkā remarks that at that time the monks in order to receive food went in order of seniority to the Hatthāḷhaka-convent. The new hall was built by Devānampiyatissa for this purpose, i.e. as refectory for the bhikkhus, separate from the nunnery.

² On Nāgadīpa (note to I. 47) as the name of a district of Ceylon see 35. 124; 36. 2. On Jambukola, II. 23, 38; 18. 7, &c.

³ In south Ceylon, situated NE. of Hambantota.

⁴ I.e. 'East Monastery in Anurādhapura.' Cf. 19. 34.

⁵ Pariyattim paṭipattim paṭivedham &c. According to the Tīkā pariyaṭṭi is a synonym of tipīṭaka, while paṭipatti represents the contents of the doctrines of the sacred scripture, namely, the way leading to deliverance as pointed out by the precepts of morality (Tīkā: pariyattisāsanassa atthabhūto sīlādikhandhattayaasahito nibbānagāminimaggo). By paṭivedha (literally 'attainment') are meant the nine transcendental conditions (the lokuttaradhamma) which result from the observance of the paṭipatti (Tīkā: paṭipattisāsanassa phalabhūto navavidha-lokuttaradhammo). These nine conditions of perfection are the

excellently in the island of Laṅkā, (Mahinda) the light of Laṅkā, the teacher of many disciples, he who, like unto the Master, had wrought great blessing for the people, did, in 32 the eighth year of king Uttiya, while he, being sixty years old,¹ was spending the rain season on the Cetiya-mountain, pass, victorious over his senses, into nibbāna, on the eighth 33 day of the bright half of the month Assayaṇa. Therefore this day received his name.

When king Uttiya heard this he went thither, stricken by 34 the dart of sorrow, and when he had paid homage to the thera and oft and greatly had lamented (over him) he caused the 35 dead body of the thera to be laid forthwith in a golden chest sprinkled with fragrant oil, and the well closed² chest to be 36 laid upon a golden, adorned bier; and when he had caused it then to be lifted upon the bier, commanding solemn ceremonies, he caused it to be escorted by a great multitude of 37 people,³ that had come together from this place and that, and by a great levy of troops; commanding due offerings (he 38 caused it to be escorted) on the adorned street to the variously adorned capital and brought through the city in procession by the royal highway to the Mahāvihāra. 39

When the monarch had caused the bier to be placed here for a week in the Paṇhambamālaka—with triumphal arches, 40 pennons, and flowers, and with vases filled with perfumes the vihāra was adorned and a circle of three yojanas around, by 41 the king's decree, but the whole island was adorned in like manner by the decree of the devas—and when the monarch 42 had commanded divers offerings throughout the week he built

four maggā 'paths' or stages of holiness, with the corresponding four phalāni 'results, effects', besides nibbāna as the ninth. It is, therefore, said that Mahinda had proclaimed the Buddha's doctrine and the holiness resulting therefrom.

¹ Reckoned from upasampadā-ordination onwards. Notice the play on words in vassam satthivassao vassam vasi.

² Sādhū phussitam. Cf. *Jāt.* vi. 510^{ab}: nivāso phussitaggale 'in a safe-bolted dwelling'.

³ I refer janoghena and baloghena to ānayatvāna in 38 c, not to kārento pūjanāvidhiṃ. This should rather stand quite independently, as does kārento sādhuḥkijanaṃ in 36 d.

up, turned toward the east in the Therānambandhamālaka,
 43 a funeral pyre of sweet smelling wood, leaving the (place of
 the later) Great thūpa on the right, and when he had brought
 44 the beautiful bier thither and caused it to be set upon the
 pyre he carried out the rites of the dead.¹

And here did he build a cetiya when he had caused the
 45 relics to be gathered together. Taking the half of the relics
 the monarch caused thūpas to be built on the Cetiya-mountain
 46 and in all the vihāras. The place where the burial of this
 sage's body had taken place is called, to do him honour,
 Isibhūmaṅgaṇa.²

47 From that time onwards they used to bring the dead
 bodies of holy men from three yojanas around to this spot
 and there to burn them.

48 When the great therī Saṃghamittā, gifted with the great
 supernormal powers and with great wisdom had fulfilled the
 duties of the doctrine and had brought much blessing to the
 49 people, she, being fifty-nine years old, in the ninth year of
 this same king Uttiya, while she dwelt in the peaceful
 50 Hatthāḷhaka-convent, passed into nibbāna. And for her also,
 as for the therā, the king commanded supreme honours of
 51 burial a week through, and the whole of Laṅkā was adorned
 as for the therā.

The body of the therī laṅ upon a bier did he cause to be
 52 brought when the week was gone by, out of the city; and to
 the east of the Thūpārāma, near the Cittasālā³ (of later
 53 times) in sight of the great Bodhi-tree, on the spot pointed
 out by the therī (herself), he caused the burning to take
 place. And the most wise Uttiya also had a thūpa built
 there.

54 The five great theras also,⁴ and those theras too of whom
 Ariṭṭha was the leader, and many thousand bhikkhus who
 55 were freed from the ūsavas, and also the twelve therīs among
 whom Saṃghamittā stood highest, and many thousand bhik-

¹ Sakkarap antimaṃ 'the last honours'.

² I.e. 'Court-yard of the sage.'

³ I.e. 'Many-coloured hall.'

⁴ Those who had come to Ceylon with Mahinda. For the following
 cf. 19. 66 and 19. 5.

khunīs who were freed from the āsavas, who, endowed with 56 great learning and deep insight had expounded the holy scripture of the Conqueror, the vinaya and the rest, fell, in time, into the power of mortality.

Ten years did king Uttiya reign; thus is mortality the 57 destroyer of the whole world.

A man who, although he knows this overmastering, over- 58 whelming, irresistible mortality, yet is not discontented with the world of existence and does not feel, in this discontent, resentment at wrong nor joy in virtue—that is the strength of the fetters of his evil delusion!—such an one is knowingly fooled.¹

Here ends the twentieth chapter, called ‘The Nibbāna of the Thera’, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Wijesinha gives a wrong sense to the clause in taking it as a question. The verbs nibbindate and kurute belong to the relative sentence. The governing clause is jānaṃ pi (so) sammuyhati. The words tassesā atimohajālābalatā are only intelligible as a parenthesis.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIVE KINGS

- 1 UTTIYA's younger brother, MAHĀSIVA, reigned after his
2 death ten years, protecting the pious. Being devoted to the
thera Bhaddasāla, he built the noble vihāra, Nagaraṅgaṇa, in
the eastern quarter (of the city).
3 Mahāsiva's younger brother, SŪRATIṢṢA, reigned after his
4 death ten years, zealously mindful of meritorious works. In
the southern quarter (of the city) he founded¹ the Nagaraṅ-
gaṇa-vihāra, in the eastern quarter the vihāra (called) Hat-
5 thikkhandha and the Goṇṇagirika(vihāra); on the Vaṅgut-
tara-mountain the (vihāra) named Pācīnapabbata and near
6 Raheraka the (vihāra) Kolambahūlaka;² at the foot of
the Ariṭṭha(mountain) the Makulaka(vihāra), to the east³
the Acchagallaka(vihāra), but the Girinelavāhanaka(vihāra)
7 to the north of Kaṇḍanagara; these and other pleasing
vihāras, in number five hundred, did the lord of the earth
build on this and the further bank of the river,⁴ here and
8 there in the island of Laṅkā, before and while he reigned,
during the period of sixty years, piously and justly,⁵ devoted
9 to the three gems.⁶ Suvannapiṇḍatissa was his name before
his reign, but he was named Sūratissa after the beginning
of the reign.
10 Two Damiḷas, SENA and GUTTAKA, sons of a freighter who

¹ The verb on which the accusatives in v. 4 foll. depend is *kūresi* in 8.

² See note to 25, 80.

³ According to the *Tika* to the east of Anurādhapura near Dahagallaka.

⁴ I.e. the Mahawalliganga.

⁵ *Sādhaka*, i.e. according to pious aims, dhammena without oppressing the people.

⁶ See notes to 1. 62; 12. 28.

brought horses hither,¹ conquered the king Sūratissa, at the 11
head of a great army and reigned both (together) twenty-two²
years justly. But when Asela had overpowered them, the
son of Muṭasiva, the ninth among his brothers, born of the 12
same mother,³ he ruled for ten years onward from that time
in Anurādhapura.

A Damiḷa of noble descent, named Eḷāra, who came hither 13
from the Coḷa-country⁴ to seize on the kingdom, ruled when
he had overpowered king Asela, forty-four years, with even 14
justice toward friend and foe, on occasions of disputes
at law.

At the head of his bed he had a bell hung up with a long 15
rope so that those who desired a judgement at law might
ring it. The king had only one son and one daughter. 16
When once the son of the ruler was going in a car to the
Tissa-tank, he killed unintentionally a young calf lying on 17
the road with the mother cow, by driving the wheel over its
neck. The cow came and dragged at the bell in bitterness 18
of heart;⁵ and the king caused his son's head to be severed
(from his body) with that same wheel.

A snake had devoured the young of a bird upon a palm- 19
tree. The hen-bird, mother of the young one, came and
rang the bell. The king caused the snake to be brought to 20
him, and when its body had been cut open and the young
bird taken out of it he caused it to be hung up upon the
tree.

¹ This is perhaps the meaning of *assanāvika* (lit. 'horse-seafarer').
The Sinh. *Thūpavaṇṇa* has *as-nēviyakuge putvū*; the Pūjāvaliya:
lak-diva-ṭa asun geṇā aśvācūri-de-bā-kenek; the Rājāvaliya:
lak-diva-ṭa asun geṇā asun-de-bā-kenek.

² Following the reading *dave dvāvisavassāni*. See the Intro-
duction, § 8.

³ Asela's eight brothers are enumerated in the *Tikā*. They are
named Abhaya, Devānappiyatissa, Uttiya, Mahāsaiva, Mahānāga,
Muttābhaya, Sūratissa, and Kira.

⁴ Southern India.

⁵ Lit. 'With embittered heart.' Note the play on words in
ghaṭṭesi ghaṭṭitāsayā. The *Tikā* paraphrases the last word:
puttasakena kupitacittā.

- 21 When the king, who was a protector of tradition, albeit
 he knew not the peerless virtues of the most precious of the
 22 three gems,¹ was going (once) to the Cetiya-mountain to
 invite the brotherhood of bhikkhus, he caused, as he arrived
 23 upon a car, with the point of the yoke on the waggon, an
 injury to the thūpa of the Conqueror at a (certain) spot. The
 ministers said to him: 'King, the thūpa has been injured by
 24 thee.' Though this had come to pass without his intending
 it, yet the king leaped from his car and flung himself down
 upon the road with the words: 'Sever my head also (from
 25 the trunk) with the wheel.' They answered him: 'Injury to
 another does our Master in no wise allow; make thy peace
 26 (with the bhikkhus) by restoring the thūpa'; and in order to
 place (anew) the fifteen stones that had been broken off he
 spent just fifteen thousand kahāpanas.²
- 27 An old woman had spread out some rice to dry it in the
 sun. The heavens, pouring down rain at an unwonted season,
 28 made her rice damp. She took the rice and went and dragged
 at the bell. When he heard about the rain at an unwonted
 29 season he dismissed the woman, and in order to decide her
 cause he underwent a fast, thinking: 'A king who observes
 30 justice surely obtains rain in due season.' The guardian
 genius who received offerings from him, overpowered by the
 fiery heat of (the penances of) the king, went and told the
 31 four great kings³ of this (matter). They took him with
 them and went and told Sakka. Sakka summoned Pajjunna⁴
 32 and charged him (to send) rain in due season. The guardian
 genius who received his offerings told the king. From thence-
 forth the heavens rained no more during the day throughout
 33 his realm; only by night did the heavens give rain once every

¹ Cf. the note to 21. 8. By ratanaggassā is meant the Buddha, with whom the doctrine of the ratanattaya originates.

² Cf. note to 4. 13.

³ These are the four guardians of the world, the lokapālā who usually appear near Indra in the brahmanic pantheon: Dhatarattha, Virūbhaka, Virūpakka, and Vessavaṇa, rulers, in the above order, of the east, south, west, and north.

⁴ Skt. Parjanya, the god of rain.

week, in the middle watch of the night; and even the little cisterns everywhere were full (of water).

Only because he freed himself from the guilt of walking ³⁴ in the path of evil did this (monarch), though he had not put aside false beliefs, gain such miraculous power; how should not then an understanding man, established in pure belief, renounce here the guilt of walking in the path of evil?

Here ends the twenty-first chapter, called 'The Five Kings', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXII

THE BIRTH OF PRINCE GĀMAṆI

- 1 WHEN he had slain Ellāra, DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI became king.
To show clearly how this came to pass the story in due order
(of events) is this¹:
- 2 King Devānampiyatissa's second brother, the vice-regent
3 named Mahānāga, was dear to his brother. The king's consort,
that foolish woman, coveted the kingship for her own son and
4 ever nursed the wish to slay the vice-regent, and while he
was making the tank called Taraccha she sent him a mango-
fruit which she had poisoned and laid uppermost among
5 (other) mango-fruits. Her little son who had gone with the
vice-regent, ate the mango-fruit, when the dish was un-
6 covered, and died therefrom. Upon this the vice-regent, with
his wives, men and horses, went, to save his life, to Rohana.²
- 7 In the Yaṭṭhālāya-vihāra³ his wife, who was with child,
8 bore a son. He gave him his brother's name.⁴ Afterwards
he came to Rohana and as ruler over the whole of Rohana the
9 wealthy prince reigned in Mahāgāma.⁵ He founded the

¹ On the insertion of the Duṭṭhagāmaṇi epic see *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 20 (English ed.). In the *Nidānakathā* (*Jāt.* i. 50²) the story of the dream of Māyā before the birth of the Buddha is inserted with almost the same introducing words. See WINDISCH, *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*, p. 156.

² The south and south-east part of the island.

³ There is certainly better authority for the form Yaṭṭhālāya. However Yaṭṭhālāya gives an appropriate meaning to the name: 'dwelling or temple of the sacrificer'. (Skt. *yaṣṭar*, p. *yaṣṭhar* and Skt. P. *ālaya*.) Tradition seems to identify the monastery with the Yaṣṭagala-vihāra to the NE. of Point de Galle. *The Ceylon National Review*, iii, p. 110.

⁴ He was named (after his birthplace and Devānampiyatissa) Yaṭṭhālāyakatissa.

⁵ NE. of Hambantota near the place where the ruins of the

Nāgamahāvihāra¹ that bore his name; he founded also many (other) vihāras, as the Uddhakandaraka (vihāra) and so forth.

His son Yaṭṭhālayakatissa reigned after his death in that 10 same place, and in like manner also Abhaya, son of this (last).

Goṭṭābhaya's son, known by the name Kākavannatiṣṣa, 11 the prince, reigned there after his death. Vihāradevī was 12 the consort of this believing king, firm in the faith (was she), the daughter of the king of Kalyāṇī.²

Now in Kalyāṇī the ruler was the king named Tissa. His 13 younger brother named Ayya-Uttika, who had roused the wrath (of Tissa) in that he was the guilty lover of the queen, fled thence from fear and took up his abode elsewhere. The 14 district was named after him. He sent a man wearing the 15 disguise of a bhikkhu, with a secret letter to the queen. This man went thither, took his stand at the king's door and 16 entered the king's house with an arahant who always used to take his meal at the palace, unnoticed by that therā. When 17 he had eaten in company with the therā, as the king was going forth,³ he let the letter fall to the ground when the queen was looking.

The king turned at the (rustling) sound, and when he 18 looked down and discovered the written message he raged, unthinking, against the therā, and in his fury he caused the 19 therā and the man to be slain and thrown into the sea. Wroth at this the sea-gods made the sea overflow the land; 20 but the king with all speed caused his pious and beautiful daughter named Devī to be placed in a golden vessel, whereon 21 was written 'a king's daughter', and to be launched upon that same sea. When she had landed near to (the) Lankā 22

Tissamahārāma lie on the left bank of the Māgama-river. The village at the mouth of the river still bears the name Māgama.

¹ The Mahānāga-dāgaba still exists in the ruins of Mahāgāma. See PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 324.

² See note to i. 63.

³ Or 'as she (i.e. the queen) was going forth with the king', according to the reading raññū saha viniggaṃe of the Burmese MSS.; the Tīkā seems also to agree with this.

(vihāra) the king Kākavanna consecrated her as queen. Therefore she received the epithet Vihāra.

- 23 When he had founded the Tissamahāvihāra¹ and the Cittalapabbata (vihāra)² and also the Gamitthavāli and Kūtāli
 24 (vihāra) and so forth, devoutly believing in the three gems, he provided the brotherhood continually with the four needful things.³
- 25 In the monastery named Kotapabbata there lived at that time a śīmaṇera, pious in his way of life, who was ever busied with various works of merit.
- 26 To mount the more easily to the courtyard of the Ākāsa-
 27 cetiya⁴ he fixed three slabs of stone as steps. He gave (the bhikkhus) to drink and did services to the brotherhood. Since his body was continually wearied a grievous sickness came
 28 upon him. The grateful bhikkhus, who brought him in a litter, tended him at the Tissārāma, in the Silāpassaya-pariveṇa.
- 29 Always when the self-controlled Vihāradevī had given lavish gifts to the brotherhood in the beautifully prepared
 30 royal palace, before the mid-day meal, she was used to take, after the meal, sweet perfumes, flowers, medicines and clothing and go to the ārāma and offer these (to the bhikkhus) according to their dignity.
- 31 Now doing thus, at that time, she took her seat near the chief-thera of the community (in the vihāra) and when ex-
 32 pounding the true doctrine the therā spoke thus to her: 'Thy

¹ Cf. above the note to v. 8.

² The ruins of the Cittalapabbata, or, in the later form, Situlpaw-vihāra lie 15 miles N.E. of the Tissamahārāma near Katagamūwa. See A. JAYAWARDANA in *The Ceylon National Review*, ii, p. 23; ED. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 29. The monastery is mentioned once again in 35. 81, and in the Cūḷavamsa 45. 59 under king Dīthopatiśa II, the first half of the seventh century A.D.

³ See note to 3. 14.

⁴ I.e. the 'Air-cetiya', which is still shown, not far from the Cittalapabbata-monastery. It is so named because it is situated on the summit of a rock. Cf. *Ceylon National Review*, ii, p. 24. See also note to 33. 68.

great happiness thou hast attained by works of merit; even now must thou not grow weary of performing works of merit.' But she, being thus exhorted, replied: 'What is our 33 happiness here, since we have no children? Lo, our happiness is therefore barren!'

The *thera*, who, being gifted with the six (supernormal) 34 powers, foresaw that she would have children, said: 'Seek out the sick *sāmaṇera*, O queen.' She went thence and said 35 to the *sāmaṇera*, who was near unto death: 'Utter the wish to become my son; for that would be great happiness for us.' And when she perceived that he would not the keen-witted 36 woman commanded, to this end, great and beautiful offerings of flowers, and renewed her pleading.

When he was yet unwilling, she, knowing the right means, 37 gave to the brotherhood for his sake all manner of medicines and garments and again pleaded with him. Then did he 38 desire (rebirth for himself in) the king's family, and she caused the place to be richly adorned and taking her leave she mounted the car and went her way. Hereupon the 39 *sāmaṇera* passed away, and he returned to a new life in the womb of the queen while she was yet upon her journey; when she perceived this she halted. She sent that message 40 to the king and returned with the king. When they two had both fulfilled the funeral rites for the *sāmaṇera* they, 41 dwelling with collected minds in that very *pariveṇa*, appointed continually lavish gifts for the brotherhood of *bhikkhus*.

And there came on the virtuous queen these longings of 42 a woman with child. (This) did she crave: that while making a pillow for her head of a honeycomb one *usabha* long¹ and 43 resting on her left side in her beautiful bed, she should eat the honey that remained when she had given twelve thousand *bhikkhus* to eat of it; and then she longed to drink (the 44 water) that had served to cleanse the sword with which the

¹ A certain measure. According to *Abhidhānappadīpikā* = 20 *yaṭṭhi* ('staves') each 7 *ratana* ('cubits'). RHYDS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 15.

head of the first warrior among king Eḷāra's warriors had
 45 been struck off, (and she longed to drink it) standing on this
 very head, and moreover (she longed) to adorn herself with
 46 garlands of unfaded lotus-blossoms brought from the lotus-
 marshes of Anurādhapura.

The queen told this to the king, and the king asked the
 47 soothsayers. When the soothsayers heard it they said: 'The
 queen's son, when he has vanquished the Damiḷae and built
 up a united kingdom, will make the doctrine to shine forth
 brightly.'

48 'Whosoever shall point out such a honeycomb, on him the
 king will bestow a grace in accordance (with this service),'
 49 thus did the king proclaim. A countryman who found,¹ on
 the shore of the Goṭha-sea² a boat, which was turned upside
 50 down, filled with honey, showed this to the king. The king
 brought the queen thither and, in a beautifully prepared
 pavilion, caused her to eat the honey as she had wished.

51 And that her other longings might also be satisfied the
 king entrusted his warrior named Veḷusumana with the
 52 matter. He went to Anurādhapura and became the friend
 of the keeper of the king's state-horse and continually did
 53 him services. When he saw that this man trusted him he,
 the fearless one, laid lotus-flowers and his sword down on the
 54 shore of the Kadamba-river early in the morning;³ and
 when he had led the horse out and had mounted it and had

¹ The Tika here contains a narrative, taken from the Atthakathā, of the finding of the boat; cf. *Dip. and Mah.*, p. 37. The author of the Kamb. Mah. has versified and adopted it in his text.

² Goṭhasamudda (cf. 22. 85) is a designation of the sea near Ceylon. In Sinhalese the corresponding word is goḷumuhudu 'the sea not far from the land, the shallow sea' (*CLOUGH, Sinh.-Engl. Dict.*, s. v.).

³ The Tika explains the passage thus: Anurādhapurassa uppakukhetto gahitaṃ appalamūlaṃ ca attano kiṇṇa-ratanam ca gahetvā pāto va Kadambanadiyā tīraṃ netvā kassaci asāṅkito tattha thapeesi 'When he had taken lotus-flowers gathered from the lotus-marshes of Anurādhapura, and his own precious sword, he brought it early in the morning to the shore of the Kadamba-river and laid it there down, without being afraid of anybody'.

grasped the lotus-blossoms and the sword, he made himself known¹ and rode thence as swiftly as the horse could (go).²

When the king heard that he sent forth his first warrior 55 to catch him. This man mounted the horse that came second (to the state-horse) and pursued the other.³ He (Veḷusu- 56 mana), sitting on the horse's back, hid himself in the jungle, drew the sword and stretched it toward his pursuer.⁴ Thereby 57 was his head, as he came on, so swiftly as the horse could, severed (from the trunk). The other took both beasts and the head (of Eḷāra's warrior) and reached Mahāgāma in the evening. And the queen satisfied her longings even as she would. 58 But the king conferred on his warrior such honours as were in accordance (with this service).

In time the queen bore a noble son, endowed with all 59 auspicious signs,⁵ and great was the rejoicing in the house of the great monarch. By the effect of his merit there arrived 60 that very day, from this place and that, seven ships laden with manifold gems. And in like manner, by the power of 61 his merit, an elephant of the six-tusked race⁶ brought his young one thither and left him here and went his way. When a fisherman named Kaṇḍula saw it standing in the 62 jungle on the shore opposite the watering-place, he straightway told the king. The king sent his (elephant)-trainers to 63 bring the young elephant and he reared him. He was named Kaṇḍula as he had been found by Kaṇḍula.

¹ Attānam nivedayitvā as elsewhere nāmaṃ sāvayitvāna (10. 26; 33. 65).

² Lit. 'with the swiftness of the horse.'

³ According to the *Ṭikā* Eḷāra's man-at-arms was named Nandasū-rathī, his horse was called Sirigutta, the horse stolen by Veḷusumana is called Vāha.

⁴ Lit. 'To him who was coming at his back or after him.'

⁵ The *Ṭikā* explains *dhāṇḍam* by *paripāke gabbhe mahā-puññasampannam puññatejassadam ti vā attho*.

⁶ The *chaddantā* are supposed to be a particularly noble breed of elephants. *Chaddanta* is also a sacred lake in the Himalaya named after these elephants. Mah. 5. 27, 29. SUMRŪTI, *Abhidhānappadīpikā-Sūci*, p. 130: *Chaddanto, nāgarājā, tassa nivāsaṭṭhānasamī-pattā Chaddanto saro*.

- 64 'A ship filled with vessels of gold and so forth has arrived.'
This they announced to the king. And he bade them bring
(the precious things) to him.
- 65 As the king had invited the brotherhood of the bhikkhus,
numbering twelve thousand, for the name-giving festival of his
66 son, he thought thus: 'If my son, when he has won the king-
ship over the whole realm of Laṅkā, shall make the doctrine of
67 the Sambuddha to shine forth (in clear brightness) then shall
just one thousand and eight bhikkhus come hither and they
shall wear the robe in such wise that the alms-bowl shall
68 be uppermost.¹ They shall put the right foot first inside the
threshold² and they shall lay aside the prescribed waterpot
69 together with the umbrella (made of) one (piece).³ A thera
named Gotama shall receive my son and impart to him the
confession of faith and the precepts of morality.'⁴ All fell
out in this manner.

¹ I.e. the alms-bowl shall not be covered by the folds of the garment. The twice repeated *ca* is striking. The author of the *Kamb. Mahāvamsa* also feels this; he alters *ca* to *sa*.

² The contrary would be an unlucky omen. This superstition still prevails among the modern Sinhalese. PARKER, *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*, p. 14.

³ *Ekacchattayutam dhammakarakam niharantu ca*. My translation is based on SUBHŪTI's interpretation (letter dated Colombo 2 I. 1911). The *dhammakaraka* is a pot into which the water is strained before drinking; the strainer being called *parisāvana*. See C.V. V. 13. 1; VI. 21. 3). 'The waterpot and the umbrella (*chatta*) are two principal articles used by the monks when going out.' *Ekacchatta* or 'single umbrella' is 'an umbrella made of leaf, having its own handle'. According to SĪLĀNANDA (letter received from H. T. de Silva, Colombo 21. I. 1911) *ekacchattayutam* must be taken as 'provided with one handle' as an adjective belonging to *dhammakarakam*. The waterpots are made without or with a handle or neck. In this case the neck of the waterpot would be compared to a *chatta* on the top of a building.

⁴ WĪJESINHA, *Mah.*, p. 87, n. 1, refers the words not to the boy but to the assembly present. He says: 'It must here be borne in mind that it is customary with the priesthood to administer the confession of faith (*sāraṇa*) and the five precepts (*pañcasīla*) TO THE ASSEMBLY before the commencement of any ceremony.' But *Mah.* 24. 24 Gotama (cf. v. 23) is expressly designated *rañño* (i.e. of Duttha-

When he saw all these omens the king, glad at heart, 70 bestowed rice-milk on the brotherhood; and to his son, bringing together in one both the lordship over Mahāgāma 71 and the name of his father, he gave the name Gāmaṇi-Abhaya.

When, on the ninth day after this, he had entered Mahā- 72 gāma, he had intercourse with the queen. She became thereby with child. The son born in due time did the king 73 name Tissa. And both boys grew up in the midst of a great body of retainers.

When, at the festival time of the presenting of the (first) 74 rice-foods to both (children), the king, full of pious zeal, set rice-milk before five hundred bhikkhus, he, when the half 75 had been eaten by them, did, together with the queen, take a little in a golden spoon and give it to them with the 76 words: 'If you, my sons, abandon the doctrine of the Saṃ-buddha then shall this not be digested in your belly.' Both 77 princes, who understood the meaning of these words, ate the rice-milk rejoicing as if it were ambrosia.

When they were ten and twelve years old the king, who 78 would fain put them to the test, offered hospitality in the same way to the bhikkhus, and when he had the rice that 79 was left by them taken and placed in a dish and set before the boys he divided it into three portions and spoke thus: 'Never, 80 dear ones, will we turn away from the bhikkhus, the guardian-spirits of our house: with such thoughts as these eat ye this portion here.' And furthermore: 'We two brothers will for 81 ever be without enmity one toward the other; with such thoughts as these eat ye this portion here.' And as if it 82 were ambrosia they both ate the two portions. But when it was said to them: 'Never will we fight with the Dāmiḷas; with such thoughts eat ye this portion here,' Tissa dashed 83 the food away with his hand, but Gāmaṇi who had (in like manner) flung away the morsel of rice, went to his bed, and 84

gāmaṇi) *sikkhāya dāyako*, with distinct reference to 22. 69. We take it then to mean that Gotama, from the very fact that he 'receives' the boy (*paṭigaṇhāti*), expresses his willingness to become his teacher in the future.

drawing in his hands and feet he lay upon his bed. The
 85 queen came, and caressing Gāmaṇi spoke thus: 'Why dost
 thou not lie easily upon thy bed with limbs stretched out, my
 son?' 'Over there beyond the Gaṅgā¹ are the Damilas,
 86 here on this side is the Goṭṭha-ocean,² how can I lie with out-
 stretched limbs?' he answered. When the king heard his
 thoughts he remained silent.

87 Growing duly Gāmaṇi came to sixteen years, vigorous,
 renowned, intelligent and a hero in majesty and might.

88 In this changing existence do beings indeed (only) by
 works of merit come to such rebirth as they desire; pondering
 thus the wise man will be ever filled with zeal in the heaping
 up of meritorious works.

Here ends the twenty-second chapter, called 'The Birth of
 Prince Gāmaṇi', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene
 joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ See note to 10. 44.

² See note to 22. 49.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LEVYING OF THE WARRIORS

FOREMOST in strength, beauty, shape and the qualities of 1
courage and swiftness and of mighty size of body was the
elephant Kaṇḍula. Nandhimitta, Sūranimila, Mahāsoṇa, 2
Goṭhaimbara, Theraputtābhaya, Bharana, and also Veḷasu-
mana, Khaṇḍadeva, Phussadeva and Labhiyavasabha: these 3
ten were his mighty and great warriors.¹

King Elāra had a general named Mitta; and he had, in 4
the village that he governed,² in the eastern district³ near 5
the Citta-mountain, a (nephew, his) sister's son, named after
his uncle, whose secret parts were hidden (in his body). In 6
the years of his childhood, since he loved to creep far, they⁴
were used to bind the boy fast with a rope slung about his
body, to a great mill-stone. And since, creeping about on 7
the ground, he dragged the stone after him and in crossing
over the threshold the rope broke asunder, they called him 8
Nandhimitta. He had the strength of ten elephants. When
he was grown up he went into the city and served his uncle.
Damiḷas, who desecrated at that time thūpas and other 9
(sacred memorials), this strong man used to tear asunder,
treading one leg down with his foot while he grasped the 10
other with his hand, and then (he would) cast them out (over

¹ The story of the ten paladins of Dutthagāmaṇi is treated also in the *Rasavāhinī* II, p. 78 foll. (Ed. by SAMAṆATISSATHERA, Colombo, 1901 and 1899.)

² *Kammantagāma*, i.e. 'Village of labour' or 'activity'. 'I think the word is equivalent to the *nindagāma* of the present day. It is a village the tenants of which are liable to render services to the landlords.' *WILKESINGHA, Mañ.*, p. 88, no. 4.

³ Possibly the name of the village is *Khaṇḍarājū*. *Rasav.* II. 80² seems to bear this out.

⁴ That is the boy's parents.

the walls). But the devas caused those dead bodies that he cast out to vanish.

- 11 When they observed the diminution of the Damiḷas they told the king; but the command 'Take him with his prey!'¹
- 12 they could not carry out.² Nandhimitta thought: 'And if I do thus, it is but the destruction of men and brings not the
- 13 glory to the doctrine. In Rohaṇa³ there are still princes who have faith in the three gems. There will I serve the
- 14 king, and when I have overcome all the Damiḷas and have conferred the overlordship on the princes, I shall make the doctrine of the Buddha to shine forth brightly.' Then he
- 15 went and told this to prince Gāmaṇi. When this latter had taken counsel with his mother he received him with honour, and with high honours the warrior Nandhimitta continued to dwell with him.
- 16 King Kākavaṇṇatissa caused a guard to hold the Damiḷas in check to be kept continually at all the fords of the Mahā-
- 17 gaṅgā. Now the king had, by another wife, a son named Dighābhaya; and he gave the guard near the Kacchaka-
- 18 ford⁴ into his charge. And to form the guard this (prince) commanded each noble family within a distance of two
- 19 yojanas round (to send) one son thither. Within the district of Koṭṭhivāla, in the village of Khaṇḍakaviṭṭhika, lived the chief of a clan the headman named Saṃgha who had seven
- 20 sons. To him, too, the prince sent a messenger demanding a son. His seventh son named Nimiḷa⁵ had the strength of
- 21 ten elephants. His six brothers who were angered at his

¹ The reading should be, without doubt, *sahodham gaṇḍathanam*, cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 860; *J.P.T.S.* 1910, p. 137. *Skt. sahoḍha*. The *Ṭīkā* has hit the meaning with the paraphrase *sabhaṇḍakam*. The *Rasavāh.* II, p. 80¹² makes the characteristic alteration to *sahasā gaṇḍathanam*, a proof that the phrase was no longer understood in its original sense but had fallen into a stereotyped use. Cf. also *Jst.* III, 59¹⁵.

² Since they did not succeed in finding out the doer of the deed.

³ See note to 22. 6.

⁴ See note to 10. 58.

⁵ *Rasavāhinī*: Nimmala or Surānimmala. The first part of the latter name is derived from *surā* 'spirituous liquor', and must (according to II, p. 84¹⁻²) refer to the drinking prowess of the hero.

bent toward idleness, wished that he might go, but not so his mother and his father. Wroth with his other brothers he 22 went, in the early morning, a distance of three yojanas, and sought out the prince even at sunrise. And he, to put him 23 to the test, entrusted him with a far errand: 'Near the Cetiya-mountain in the village of Dvāramanḍala is a brahman 24 named Kuṇḍali, my friend. In his possession is merchandise from over-seas.¹ Go thou to him and bring hither the 25 merchandise that he gives thee.' When he had thus spoken to him and had offered him a meal he sent him forth with a letter. He travelled, yet in the forenoon, nine yojanas from 26 that place hither² toward Anurādhapura and sought out the brahman. 'When thou hast bathed in the tank, my dear, 27 come to me,' said the brahman. As he had never yet come to this place³ he bathed in the Tissa-tank, and when he had 28 done reverence to the great Bodhi-tree and the cetiya in the Thūpārāma he went into the city; when he had (then) seen the whole city and had bought perfumes in the bazaar, 29 had gone forth again by the north gate and had brought lotus-blossoms from the lotus-field he sought out the brahman, 30 and questioned by him he told him of his wayfaring. When the brahman heard of his first march⁴ and of his march hither⁵ he thought, full of amazement: 'This is a man of 31 noble race; if Eḷāra hears of him he will get him into his power. Therefore must he not dwell near the Damiḷas, he must 32 rather take up his abode with the prince's father.' When 33 he had written in the same sense he gave the written message into his hands, and giving him Puṇṇavaḍḍhana-garments⁶

¹ The reading *samuddapārabhaṇḍāni*, in a Sinhalese MS., is only a conjecture, but is probably the correct reading.

² Here, as frequently, taking the standpoint of the author, who lives in Anurādhapura.

³ I.e. to Anurādhapura.

⁴ I.e. the distance covered in the morning from Kacchakatittha to Dvāramanḍala.

⁵ That is, to Anurādhapura and from there back to Dvāramanḍala.

⁶ *Tika*: *anagghāni evaṇṇāmikāni vatthayugānīti* 'precious pairs of garments bearing that name'.

- 34 and many gifts (to take with him), and having fed him he sent him (back) to his friend. He came to the prince at the time
 35 that the shadows grow longer and delivered up to the king's son the letter and the gifts. Then rejoicing (the prince) said: 'Honour this man with a thousand (pieces of money).'
 36 The other servitors of the prince grew envious, then ordered
 37 he to honour the youth with ten thousand (pieces). And when (according to his charge) they had cut his hair and bathed him in the river, and had put on him a pair of Punnavaḍḍhana-garments and a beautiful fragrant wreath,
 38 and had wound a silken turban about his head, they brought him to the prince,¹ and the latter commanded that food from
 39 his own stores be given him. Moreover, the prince bade them give his own bed worth ten thousand (pieces of money) to the
 40 warrior as a couch. He gathered all these together and took them to his mother and father and gave the ten thousand (pieces of money) to his mother and the bed to his father.
 41 The same night he came and appeared at the place of the guard. When the prince heard this in the morning he was
 42 glad at heart. When he had given him provision for the journey and an escort and had bestowed on him (as a gift) ten
 43 thousand (pieces of money) he sent him to his father. The warrior brought the ten thousand to his mother and father, gave it to them and went into the presence of king
 44 Kākavāṇṭatissa. The king gave him (into the service of) the prince Gāmaṇi, and with high honours the warrior Sūraṇimila took up his abode with him.
 45 In the Kuṇjumbhari-district² in the village Hundarivāpi
 46 lived Tissa's eighth son named Soṇa. At the time when he was seven years old he tore up young palms; at the time when he was ten years old the strong (boy) tore up great

¹ Vethayitvā, a verb common to both and governing the accusative, must be supplied to punnavaḍḍhanayugam and gandhamālam.

² Kuṇjumbharikāṇṭhikāya; cf. Nakulanagakaṇṭhikāyam, Mah. 23. 77; Kālāyanakaṇṭhikāyam, Mah. 34. 80; and Huvācukāṇṭhikā, Mah. 34. 90. Rasav. II. 86² reads Kadaḷumbharikāṇṭhikāya.

palm-trees. In time Mahāsoṇa became as strong as ten 47 elephants. When the king heard that he was such a man he took him from his father and gave him into the service of 48 the prince Gāmaṇi that he might maintain him. Receiving honourable guerdon from him, the warrior took up his abode with him.

In the region named Giri, in the village Nittulavitthika, 49 there lived a son of Mahānāga strong as ten elephants. By 50 reason of his dwarfish stature he was named Goṭhaka; his six elder brothers made a merry jest of him. Once when they 51 had gone forth and were clearing the forest to lay out a bean-field they left his share and came back and told him. Then 52 forthwith he started out, and when he had torn up the trees called imbara and had levelled the ground he came and told (them). His brothers went and when they had seen his 53 amazing work they returned to him praising his work.¹ Because of this he bore the name Goṭhaimbara, and him 54 too, in like manner, the king commanded to stay with Gāmaṇi.

A householder named Rohaṇa, who was headman in the 55 village of Kittī near the Keṭa-mountain, gave to the son who was born to him the name of the king Goṭhābbaya.² At the 56 age of ten to twelve years the boy was so strong that in his 57 play he threw like balls for playing stones that could not be lifted by four or five men. When he was sixteen years old 58 his father made him a club thirty-eight inches round and sixteen cubits long. When, with this, he smote the stems 59 of palmyra or coco-palms, he felled them. Therefore was he known as a warrior. And him, too, did the king in like 60 manner command to stay with Gāmaṇi. But his father was a supporter of the therā Mahāsumma. Once when this house- 61 holder was hearing a discourse of Mahāsumma in the Keṭa-pabbata-vihāra he attained to the fruition of (the first stage of

¹ The *Bassav.* II. 88 foll. tells yet another story of Goṭhaimbara, that he subdued a yakṣha named Jayasena and then went among the monks. The 'dwellers in the Uttaravihāra' are mentioned as the source of this story.

² *Samānanāmaṃ kāresi*, lit. 'made of him of like name with ...

62 salvation called) sotāpatti. With heart strongly moved¹ he told this to the king, and when he had given over (the headship of) his house to his son he received the pabbajjā from the
63 therā. Given up to the practice of meditation he attained to the state of an arahant. Therefore his son was called Theraputtābhaya.²

64 In the village of Kappakandara³ a son of Kumāra⁴ lived named Bharapa. In time, when he was ten to twelve years
65 old, he went with the boys into the forest and chased many hares; he struck at them with his foot and dashed them,
66 (smitten) in twain, to the ground. Then when he, at the age of sixteen years, went with the village-folk into the forest
67 he killed antelopes, elks, and boars in like manner. Therefore was Bharapa known as a great warrior. And him did the king in like manner command to stay with Gāmaṇi.

68 In the district called Giri, in the village of Kuṭumbiyāgaṇa there dwelt, held in honour (by the people) there, a householder named Vasabha. His fellow-countrymen Veḷa and
69 Sumana, governor of Giri, came when a son was born to their friend, bringing gifts, and both gave their name to the boy.
70 When he was grown up the governor of Giri had him to dwell in his house. He had a Sindhu-horse⁵ that would let no man
71 mount him. When he saw Veḷusumana he thought: 'Here is a rider worthy of me,' and he neighed joyfully. When the
72 governor perceived this he said to him: 'Mount the horse.' Then he mounted the horse and made him gallop in a circle;
73 and the animal appeared even as one single horse around the whole circle, and he sat on the back of the courser seeming
74

¹ Jātasamvego, the conception of samvega is the negative side to the positive paṇāda. See note to 1. 4.

² I.e. Abhaya, the son of the therā. The Raav. II. 94¹ foll. states that the son was already a sāmaṇera, then relates a story from which it appears that in strength he was even superior to Goṭhaimbara.

³ A river of this name in Rohana is also mentioned, Mah. 24. 22, besides a monastery, Raav. II. 88¹, 94².

⁴ Thus Raav. II. 96²⁸: Kumāro nāmeko kuṭumbiko.

⁵ Skt. saindhava 'horse from the Indus country', an excellent breed much prized in Indian literature.

to be a chain of men¹ and he loosed his mantle and girt it about him again and again fearlessly. When the bystanders 75 saw this they broke into applauding shouts. The governor of Giri gave him ten thousand (pieces of money) and thinking: 'he is fit for the king,' he gave him joyfully into the king's 76 service. The king made Velusumana dwell near him, giving 77 him honourable guerdon and favouring him greatly.

In the district of Nakulanaga in the village of Mahisadopika there lived Abhaya's last son, named Deva, endowed 78 with great strength. Since he limped a little they called him Khañjadeva. When he went a-hunting with the village-folk, 79 he chased at those times great buffaloes, as many as rose up, and grasped them by the leg with his hand, and when he had 80 whirled them round his head the young man dashed them to the ground breaking their bones. When the king heard this 81 matter, having sent for Khañjadeva, he commanded him to stay with Gāmaṇi.

Near the Cittalapabbata (vihāra)² in the village named 82 Gaviṭṭa there lived Uppala's son named Phussadeva. When 83 he went once as a boy to the vihāra with the (other) boys he took one of the shells offered to the bodhi-tree and blew it mightily. Powerful even as the roar at the bursting asunder 84 of a thunderbolt was his tone, and all the other boys, terrified, were as if stunned. Therefore he was known by the name 85 Ummādaphussadeva. His father made him learn the archer's art handed down in the family, and he was one of those who 86 hit their mark (guided) by sound, who hit by (the light of the) lightning, and who hit a hair. A waggon laden with sand and a hundred skins bound one upon another, a slab of 87 asana or udumbara-wood³ eight or sixteen inches thick, or

¹ The *Ṭikā* (see Mah. ed. note on this passage) explains *vassa-hāraṃ va* by 'like an unbroken row of men holding together'. *Vassa* presupposes a Skt. *varṣan* related to Skt. *vr̥ṣan*. The neuter gender in *hāra* 'string of pearls', is striking. Cf. the Greek legend of Alexander's horse Bucephalus.

² See Mah. 22. 23 (with note); *Rasav.* II. 101³.

³ Skt. *asana*, *Terminalia tomentosa* and *udumbara*, *Ficus glomerata*.

88 one of iron or copper two or four inches thick he shot
 through with the arrow; an arrow shot forth by him flew
 89 eight usabhas¹ over the land but one usabha through the
 water. When the great king heard this thing he had him
 taken away from his father and commanded him to stay
 with Gāmaṇi.

90 Near the Tulādhāra-mountain in the village of Vihāravāpi
 91 lived a son of the householder Matta, named Vasabha. Since
 his body was nobly formed they called him Labhiyavasabha.
 At the age of twenty years he was gifted with great bodily
 92 strength. Taking some men with him he began, since he
 would fain have some fields, (to make) a tank. Making it he,
 93 being endowed with great strength, flung away masses of earth
 such as only ten or twelve men had moved else, and thus in
 94 a short time he finished the tank. And thereby he gained
 renown, and him too did the king summon and, allotting him
 honourable guerdon, he appointed him to (the service of)
 95 Gāmaṇi. That field was known as Vasabha's Dam.² So
 Labhiyavasabha abode near Gāmaṇi.

96 On these ten great warriors did the king henceforth confer
 97 honours like to the honours conferred on his own son. Then
 summoning the ten great warriors the king charged them :
 98 'Each one find ten warriors.' They brought thither warriors
 in this way and again the king commanded these hundred
 99 warriors to levy (others) in like manner. They too brought
 thither warriors in this way and these thousand warriors did
 the king again command to levy (others) in like manner.
 100 They also brought warriors thither. And they, reckoned
 altogether, were then eleven thousand one hundred and ten
 warriors.

101 They all continually received honourable guerdon from the
 ruler of the land and abode surrounding the prince Gāmaṇi.

102 Thus when a wise man, mindful of his salvation, hears of

¹ See note to 22. 42.

² The *Rassav.* II. 109. 135 says: *Kākaṇṇatissamahārājā tam
 ānāpeṭṭha mahantaṃ sakkāraṃ katvā udakavāragāmaṃ
 tass' eva dāpesi; into paṭṭhāya so Vasabhadakavāro ti
 pākato ahoṣi.*

the marvels wrought by the pious life, he should surely, turning aside from the evil path, evermore find pleasure in the path of piety.

Here ends the twenty-third chapter, called 'The Levying of the Warriors', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE WAR OF THE TWO BROTHERS

- 1 SKILLED in (guiding) elephants and horses, and in (bearing)
the sword and versed in archery¹ did the prince Gāmaṇi dwell
2 thenceforth in Mahāgāma. The prince Tissa, equipped with
troops and chariots did the king cause to be stationed in
3 Dīghavāpi² in order to guard the open country. Afterwards
prince Gāmaṇi, reviewing his host, sent to announce to his
4 father the king: 'I will make war upon the Damiḷas.' The
king, to protect him, forbade him, saying: 'The region on
this side of the river³ is enough.' Even to three times he
5 sent to announce the same (reply). 'If my father were a man
he would not speak thus: therefore shall he put this on.'
6 And therewith Gāmaṇi sent him a woman's ornament. And
enraged at him the king said: 'Make a golden chain⁴ with
that will I bind him, for else he cannot be protected.'
7 Then the other fled and went, angered at his father, to
Malaya,⁴ and because he was wroth with his father they
named him Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.⁵
8 Then the king began to build the Mahānuggala-cetiya.
When the cetiya was finished the monarch summoned the
9 brotherhood. Twelve thousand bhikkhus from the Cittalāpab-

¹ I believe that upāsana in katupāsana must be taken in the sense of 'archery', which is borne out by Abhidh. 390. The Tika, it is true, explains katupāsano, in a general way, by katasikkho, dassitasippo.

² See note to I. 78.

³ Cf. the note to 10. 44. The Mahāgaṇḍā is considered the border between the region occupied by the Damiḷas and the provinces ruled over by the Mahāgāma dynasty.

⁴ Cf. note to 7. 68.

⁵ I.e. the angry Gāmaṇi. Cf. *Dip. and Mah.*, p. 21, n. 1.

bata (vihāra) gathered together here, and from divers (other) places twelve thousand also.

When the king had celebrated the solemn festival of the 10 cetiya he brought all the (ten) warriors together and made them take an oath in the presence of the brotherhood. They 11 all took the oath: 'We will not go to (thy) sons' battlefield'; therefore did they also not come to the war (afterwards).

When the king had built sixty-four vihāras and had lived 12 just as many years he died then in that same place.¹ The 13 queen took the king's body, brought it to the Tissamahārāma² in a covered car and told this to the brotherhood. When the 14 prince Tissa heard this he came from Dighavāpi, and when he himself had carried out with (due) care the funeral rites for his father, the powerful (prince) took his mother and the 15 elephant Kaṇḍula with him and for fear of his brother went thence with all speed back to Dighavāpi. To acquaint him 16 with these matters the whole of the ministers, who had met together, sent a letter to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. He repaired to 17 Guttahāla³ and when he had placed outposts there he came to Mahāgāma and caused himself to be consecrated king. He 18 sent a letter to his brother (asking) for his mother and the elephant. But when after the third time he did not receive them he set forth to make war upon him. And between 19 those two there came to pass a great battle in Cūlaṅgaṇiya-piṭṭhi: and there fell many thousands of the king's men.⁴ The king and his minister Tissa and the mare Dighathūpikā, 20 those three, took flight; the prince (Tissa) pursued them. The bhikkhus created a mountain between the two (brothers). 21 When he (Tissa) saw it he turned about, thinking: 'This is the work of the brotherhood of the bhikkhus.'

When he came to the Javamāla ford⁵ of the river Kappa- 22

¹ In Mahāgāma.

² Cf. note to 22. 8.

³ Now Buttala, situated thirty to thirty-five miles to the north of Mahāgāma, where the high-road crosses the Menik-ganga. The road from Mahāgāma to Mahiyangana led through Guttahālaka (cf. 25. 6). The outposts were stationed there by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi as a security against a surprise from Tissa, residing at Dighavāpi.

⁴ I.e. of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

⁵ I think that the battle took place at some distance from Gutta-

kandara the king said to his minister Tissa: 'I am spent¹
 23 with hunger.' He offered him food that was placed in a
 golden vessel. When he had set aside of the food for the
 24 brotherhood and had divided it into four portions he said:
 'Proclaim the meal-time.' Tissa proclaimed the time. When,
 by means of his heavenly ear,² he who had taught the king
 25 the holy precepts,³ the thera (Gotama), dwelling in Piyā-
 gūḍipa,⁴ heard this he sent the thera Tissa the son of a house-
 26 holder, thither, and he went there through the air. Tissa (the
 minister) took his almsbowl from his hand and offered it to the
 king. The king commanded the portion for the brotherhood
 27 and his own portion to be poured into the bowl. And Tissa
 poured his portion in likewise, and the mare also would not
 have her portion. Therefore did Tissa pour her share too into
 the bowl.

28 The king handed to the thera the bowl filled with food;
 and hastening away through the air he brought it to the thera
 29 Gotama. When the thera had offered their share in mor-
 sels⁵ to five hundred bhikkhus, who partook of the food,
 30 and had (again) filled the bowl with the fragments that he
 received from them, he caused it to fly through the air to the
 king. (The minister) Tissa who saw it coming received it
 31 and served the king. When he himself then had eaten he fed
 the mare also; then the king sent the almsbowl away, making
 of his own field-cloak a cushion to bear it upon.⁶

hālaka in the direction of Dīghavāpi. The site of Cūḷaṅganiyapitthi
 may, therefore, be near Muppāna, about ten miles to the north-east
 from Guttahālaka. On his flight the king had to cross the Kumbuk-
 kan-oga. This may be the Kappukandara-nadi. Then the Javamāla
 ford was near the village Kumbukkan.

¹ *Chātajjhātī*, in this sense also *Jāt.* i. 345^b.

² See note to 4. 12.

³ See note to 22. 69 and below, v. 28.

⁴ I.e. 'Panicum, or Saffron Island.' The monks living there
 enjoyed a reputation for particular holiness. Cf. *Mah.* 25. 104 foll.

⁵ On *ālopa* see CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s. v.; literally translated it would
 be: 'when he had given (of it) in morsel-portions.'

⁶ By *cumbha* is meant a cloth rolled into a circular shape
 which serves as the support for a vessel when carried upon the head.

Arrived in Mahāgāma he assembled again a host of sixty 32 thousand men and marching into the field began the war with his brother. The king riding on his mare and Tissa on the 33 elephant Kaṇḍula, thus did the two brothers now come at once together, opposing each other in battle. Taking the 34 elephant in the middle the king made the mare circle round him. When he, notwithstanding, found no unguarded place he resolved to leap over him.¹ Leaping with the mare over 35 the elephant he shot his dart over his brother, so that he wounded only the skin on the back (of the elephant).²

Many thousands of the prince's men fell there, fighting in 36 battle, and his great host was scattered. 'By reason of the 37 weakness of my rider one of the female sex has used me contemptuously';³ so thought the elephant, and in wrath he rushed upon a tree in order to throw him (Tissa). The prince 38 climbed upon the tree; the elephant went to his master (Dutthagāmaṇi). And he mounted him and pursued the fleeing prince. The prince came to a vihāra and fleeing to the 39 cell of the chief therā, he lay down, in fear of his brother, under the bed. The chief therā spread a cloak over the bed, 40 and the king, who followed immediately, asked: 'Where is Tissa?' 'He is not in the bed, great king'; answered the 41 therā. Then the king perceived that he was under the bed, and when he had gone forth he placed sentinels round about 42 the vihāra; but they laid the prince upon the bed and covered him over with a garment and four young ascetics, grasping 43 the bed-posts, bore him out as if (they were carrying) a dead bhikkhu. But the king, who perceived that he was being 44 carried forth, said: 'Tissa, upon the head of the guardian genii of our house art thou carried forth; to tear away anything 45 with violence from the guardian genii of our house is not my

¹ To see whether he could perhaps attack him from above.

² This passage was corrupt at an early period. The *Tikā*, too, mentions varying readings. The sense appears to me to be that Dutthagāmaṇi only wishes to show his superiority without wounding either his brother or the elephant seriously. Cf. *Mah. ed.*, *Introd.*, p. xxii.

³ Lit. 'Has leaped over me.' But the word 'laṅghayi' is evidently to be taken also metaphorically here.

custom. Mayst thou evermore remember the virtue of the
 46 guardian genii of our house !¹ Hereupon the king went to
 Mahāgāma, and thither did he bring his mother, whom he
 47 greatly revered. Sixty-eight years did the king live, whose
 heart stood firm in the faith, and he built sixty-eight vihāras.
 48 But the prince Tissa, carried forth by the bhikkhus, went
 49 thence unrecognized² and came to Dighavāpi. The prince
 said to the thera Godhagatta Tissa :³ ' I have done ill, sir ; I
 50 will make my peace with my brother '. The thera took Tissa,
 in the habit of a servitor, and five hundred bhikkhus with him
 51 and sought the king out. Leaving the prince above on the
 stairs the thera entered with the brotherhood. The monarch
 52 invited them all to be seated and had rice-milk and other
 (food) brought (to them). The thera covered his almsbowl, and
 on the question : ' Wherefore this ' ? he answered : ' We have
 53 come bringing Tissa with us '. To the question : ' Where is
 the traitor ? ' he pointed out the place where he stood. The
 Vihāradevī hurried thither and stood sheltering her young son.
 54 The king said to the thera : ' It is known to you that we are
 now also⁴ your servants. If you had but sent a sāmaṇera of
 55 seven years our strife had not taken place (and all had ended)
 without loss of men. ' ' O king, this is the brotherhood's guilt,
 the brotherhood will do penance. '
 56 ' You will (first) have (to do) what is due to (guests)⁵
 arriving. Take the rice-milk and the rest. ' With these
 words he offered the (food) to the brotherhood ; and when he
 57 had called his brother hither he took his seat with his

¹ According to the conjectural reading *añātako*. Cf. Mah. ed.,
 Introd., p. xivii.

² We have here a surname given to the thera because of his spotted
 complexion, *Tikā*: *evamūmika* = a. TURNOUR translates, concern-
 ing the explanation of the name given in the *Tikā*, thus : ' Who
 was afflicted with a cutaneous complaint which made his skin scaly
 like that of the godha ' (*WIDESTIHA* : of an ignara.)

³ *Ñāto vo dāsaṃbhāvo idāni no*, i.e. even after I have become
 king; *no* is honorific plur.

⁴ *Hessat' āgatakiecam vo* stands briefly for *āgatānaṃ kie-*
cam hessati vo kiecam. With these words the king returns to
 the hospitality shown to the bhikkhus.

brother even there in the midst of the brotherhood; and when he had eaten together with him he gave the brotherhood leave to depart. And thither too¹ he sent his brother to direct the 58 work of harvest; and he too, when he had made it known by beat of drum, directed the work of harvest.

Thus are pious men wont to appease an enmity, though 59 heaped up from many causes, even if it be great;² what wise man, pondering this, shall not be of peace-loving mind toward others?

Here ends the twenty-fourth chapter, called 'The War of the two Brothers', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ That is, there, where he had sent the bhikkhus, i.e. to Dīghavāpi. The *ansekammāni* are preparations for the campaign against the *Damīlas*.

² The *Ṭikā* explains *anekavikkappacitam* by *anekadhā upacitam*, *puṇappunānusaṇṇavasena rāsikatam* ti attho.

CHAPTER XXV

THE VICTORY OF DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI

- 1 WHEN the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had provided for his people
and had had a relic put into his spear¹ he marched, with
2 chariots, troops and beasts for riders,² to Tissamahārāma, and
when he had shown favour to the brotherhood he said: 'I will
3 go on to the land on the further side of the river³ to bring
glory to the doctrine. Give us, that we may treat them with
honour, bhikkhus who shall go on with us, since the sight of
4 bhikkhus is blessing and protection for us.' As a penance⁴
the brotherhood allowed him five hundred ascetics; taking this
5 company of bhikkhus with him the king marched forth, and
when he had caused the road in Malaya leading hither⁵ to be
made ready he mounted the elephant Kaṇḍula and, surrounded
6 by his warriors, he took the field with a mighty host. With
the one end yet in Mahāgāma⁶ the train of the army reached
to Guttahālaka.
7 Arrived at Mahiyaṅgaṇa⁷ he overpowered the Damiḷa
Chatta. When he had slain the Damiḷas in that very place
he came then to Ambatitthaka,⁸ which had a trench leading
8 from the river, and (conquered) the Damiḷa Tittamba;
fighting the crafty⁹ and powerful foe for four months he

¹ The spear serves as a royal standard, which is always carried before the prince.

² See note to 15. 189-190.

³ See note to 24. 4.

⁴ Cf. 24. 55.

⁵ That is to the north of the island, towards Anurādhapura. Note to 10. 77. On Malaya see note to 7. 68.

⁶ Mahāgāmena sambaddhā, lit. 'connected with Mahāgāma.'

⁷ Mahiyaṅgaṇa = Bintenne (Alut-nuwara). See Appendix C.

⁸ A ford of the Mahaweliganga, not far from Bintenne.

⁹ Kaṭahattha = Skt. kṛtastha, and must be taken in the same sense.

(finally) overcame him by cunning,¹ since he placed his mother 9
in his view.

When the mighty man marching thence down (the river)
had conquered seven mighty Damiḷa princes in one day and 10
had established peace, he gave over the booty to his troops.
Therefore is (the place) called Khemārāma.

In Antarāsobbha he subdued Mahākoṭṭha, in Doṇa Gavara, 11
in Hūlakola Issariya, in Nālisobbha Nālika. In Dighābhaya- 12
gallika he subdued, in like manner, Dighābhaya; in Kaccha-
tittha, within four months, he subdued Kapisīsa. In Koṭana- 13
gara he subdued Koṭa, then Hūlavahānaka, in Vahittha the
Damiḷa Vahittha and in Gāmaṇi (he subdued) Gāmaṇi, in Kum- 14
bagāma Kumba, in Nandigāma Nandika, Khānu in Khānugāma
but in Tamba and Unnama the two, uncle and nephew, named 15
Tamba and Unnama. Jambu also did he subdue, and each
village was named after (its commander.)

When the monarch heard (that it was said:) 'Not knowing 16
their own army they slay their own people', he made this
solemn declaration: 'Not for the joy of sovereignty is this toil 17
of mine, my striving (has been) ever to establish the doctrine
of the Sambuddha. And even as this is truth may the armour 18
on the body of my soldiers take the colour of fire.' And now
it came to pass even thus.

All the Damiḷas on the bank of the river who had escaped 19
death threw themselves for protection into the city named
Vijitanagara.² In a favourable open country he pitched a 20
camp, and this became known by the name Khandhāvāra-
pitthi.

Since the king, in order to take Vijitanagara, would fain 21
put Nandhimitta to the test, he let loose Kaṇḍula upon him
(once) when he saw him coming towards him. When the 22

¹ The allusion is too terse for us to make any safe conjecture as to the cunning mentioned. According to the *Tikā* (vivāhakarapāle-sena) the reference is to Gāmaṇi's promising to his adversary marriage with his mother, and with it the expectation of government.

² On *saccakiriya* see note to 18. 39.

³ Near the northern bank of the Kālavāpi (Kaḷuwaṛa), about 24 miles SSE. from Anurādhapura.

elephant came to overpower him, Nandhimitta seized with his hands his two tusks and forced him on his haunches.

23 Since Nandhimitta fought with the elephant the village built on the spot where (it came to pass) is therefore named Hatthipora.

24 When the king had (thus) put them both to the test he marched to Vijitanagara. Near the south gate befell a
25 fearful battle between the warriors. But near the east gate did Veḷḷasumana, sitting on his horse, slay Damiḷas in great numbers.

26 The Damiḷas shut the gate and the king sent thither his men. Kaṇḍula and Nandhimitta and Sūranimila, at the
27 south gate, and the three, Mahāsoṇa, Goṭṭha and Theraputta, at the three other gates did their (great) deeds. The city had three trenches, was guarded by a high wall, furnished with gates of wrought iron, difficult for enemies to destroy.
29 Placing himself upon his knees and battering stones, mortar and bricks with his tusks did the elephant attack the gate of
30 iron. But the Damiḷas who stood upon the gate-tower hurled down weapons of every kind, balls of red-hot iron and molten
31 pitch. When the smoking pitch poured on his back Kaṇḍula, tormented with pains, betook him to a pool of water and dived there.

32 'Here is no surā-draught¹ for thee, go forth to the destroying of the iron gate, destroy the gate!' thus said Goṭṭhaimbara
33 to him. Then did the best of elephants again proudly take heart, and trumpeting he reared himself out of the water and stood defiantly on firm land.

34 The elephants' physician washed the pitch away and put on balm; the king mounted the elephant and, stroking
35 his temples with his hand, he cheered him on with the words: 'To thee I give, dear Kaṇḍula, the lordship over the whole island of Laṅkā.' And when he had had choice
36 fodder given to him, had covered him with a cloth and had put his armour on him and had bound upon his skin a seven

¹ Surā is an intoxicating drink. The meaning is: it is not for pleasure's sake that thou hast come here.

times folded buffalo-hide and above it had laid a hide steeped 37
in oil he set him free. Roaring like thunder he came, daring
danger, and with his tusks pierced the panels of the gate and 38
trampled the threshold with his feet; and with uproar the
gate crashed to the ground together with the arches of the
gate. The crumbling mass from the gate-tower that fell 39
upon the elephant's back did Nandhimitta dash aside, striking
it with his arms. When Kaṇḍala saw his deed, in contentment 40
of heart he ceased from the former wrath he had nursed since
he (Nandhimitta) had seized him by the tusks.

That he might enter the town close behind him Kaṇḍala 41
the best of elephants turned (to Nandhimitta) and looked at
that warrior. But Nandhimitta thought: 'I will not enter 42
(the town) by the way opened by the elephant' and with his
arm did he break down the wall. Eighteen cubits high 43
and eight usabhas long it crashed together. The (elephant)
looked on Sūranimila, but he too would not (follow in) the
track but dashed forward, leaping the wall into the town. 44
Goṭha also and Soṇa pressed forward, each one breaking down
a gate. The elephant seized a cart-wheel, Mitta a waggon- 45
frame, Goṭha a cocos-palm, Nimila his good sword, Mahāsopa 46
a palmyra-palm, Theraputta his great club,¹ and thus, rushing
each by himself into the streets, they shattered the *Damīlas*
there.

When the king in four months had destroyed Vijitanagara 47
he went thence to Girilaka and slew the *Damīla* Gīriya.
Thence he marched to Mahelanagara that had a triple trench 48
and was surrounded by an undergrowth of kadamba flowers,
possessed but one gate and was hard to come at; and staying 49
there four months the king subdued the commander of Mahela
by a cunningly planned battle.² Then nearing Anurādhapura 50
the king pitched his camp south of the Kāsa-mountain.³ When
he had made a tank there in the month Jēṭṭhamūla he held 51

¹ Cf. 23. 58.

² *Mantayuddhena*. TURNOUR translates: 'By diplomatic stratagem.'

³ On parato see note to 36. 36; on Kāsapabbata, note to 10. 27.

a water-festival. There is to be found the village named Pajjotanagara.

- 52 When the king Eḷāra heard that king Dutthagāmaṇi was come to do battle he called together his ministers and said:
 53 'This king is himself a warrior and in truth many warriors (follow him). What think the ministers, what should we
 54 do?' King Eḷāra's warriors, led by Dighajantu, resolved: 'To-morrow will we give battle.' The king Dutthagāmaṇi also took
 55 counsel with his mother and by her counsel formed thirty-two
 56 bodies of troops. In these the king placed parasol-bearers and figures of a king;¹ the monarch himself took his place in the innermost body of troops.
 57 When Eḷāra in full armour had mounted his elephant Mahāpabbata he came thither with chariots, soldiers and
 58 beasts for riders. When the battle began the mighty and terrible Dighajantu seized his sword and shield for battle,
 59 and leaping eighteen cubits up into the air and cleaving the effigy of the king with his sword, he scattered the first body
 60 of troops. When the mighty (warrior) had in this manner scattered also the other bodies of troops, he charged at the
 61 body of troops with which king Gāmaṇi stood. But when he began to attack the king, the mighty warrior Sūranimila
 62 insulted him, proclaiming his own name.² Dighajantu thought: 'I will slay him,' and leaped into the air full of rage. But Sūranimila held the shield toward him as he alighted (in
 63 leaping). But Dighajantu thought: 'I will cleave him in twain, together with the shield,' and struck the shield with
 64 the sword. Then Sūranimila³ let go the shield. And as he clove (only) the shield thus released Dighajantu fell there, and Sūranimila, springing up, slew the fallen (man) with his
 65 spear. Phussadeva blew his conch shell, the army of the Damiḷas was scattered; nay, Eḷāra turned to flee and they

¹ Tikā: rañño paṭirūpakam katthamayarūpakam ti, i.e. wooden figures to represent the king.

² The usual form of challenge to single combat.

³ In the original text of vv. 62, 63 there are only the pronouns itaro, itaro, so, itaro, instead of the names Dighajantu, Sūranimila, Dighajantu, Sūranimila.

slew many Damiḷas. The water in the tank there was dyed 66 red with the blood of the slain, therefore it was known by the name Kuḷantavāpi.¹

King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi proclaimed with beat of drum: 'None 67 but myself shall slay Eḷāra.' When he himself, armed, had 68 mounted the armed elephant Kaṇḍula he pursued Eḷāra and came to the south gate (of Anurādhapura).

Near the south gate of the city the two kings fought; 69 Eḷāra hurled his dart, Gāmaṇi evaded it; he made his own 70 elephant pierce (Eḷāra's) elephant with his tusks and he hurled his dart at Eḷāra; and this (latter) fell there, with his elephant.

When he had thus been victorious in battle and had united 71 Laṅkā under one rule² he marched, with chariots, troops and beasts for riders, into the capital. In the city he caused the 72 drum to be beaten, and when he had summoned the people from a yojana around he celebrated the funeral rites for king Eḷāra. On the spot where his body had fallen he burned it 73 with the catafalque, and there did he build a monument and ordain worship. And even to this day the princes of Laṅkā, 74 when they draw near to this place, are wont to silence their music because of this worship.

When he had thus overpowered thirty-two Damiḷa kings 75 DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI ruled over Laṅkā in single sovereignty.

When Vijitanagara was destroyed the hero Dighajantuka 76 had told Eḷāra of the valour of his nephew, and to this 77 nephew named Bhalluka he had sent a message to come hither. When Bhalluka had received (the message)³ from him 78 he landed here, on the seventh day after the day of the burning of Eḷāra, with sixty thousand men.

Although he heard of the king's death after he had landed 79

¹ I would now like to adopt the form of this name as given in the Burmese MSS., as it gives good sense: 'End of the tribe.' The Tīkā ed. has Kuḷatthavāpi. This, however, is no guarantee for the reading of the MSS.

² Ekūtapattaka, lit. 'Being under one parasol (ūtāpatta)'. Cf. ekachattena in v. 75.

³ The Tīkā adds to tassa the subst. lekhasamdesam.

yet, from shame, with the purpose: 'I will do battle,' he
 80 pressed on from Mahātīttha hither.¹ He pitched his camp
 near the village Kolambahālaka.²

When the king heard of his coming he marched forth to
 81 battle in full panoply of war, mounted on the elephant
 Kapḍula, with warriors mounted on elephants, horses and
 chariots, and with foot-soldiers in great numbers.

Ummādhussadeva, who was the best archer in all the
 island (followed) armed with the five weapons,³ and the rest
 83 of the heroes followed him (also). While the raging battle
 went forward Bhalluka in his armour came at the king
 84 there; but Kapḍula, the king of elephants, to weaken his
 onslaught, yielded his ground quite slowly and the army with
 85 him drew also back quite slowly. The king said: 'Aforetime
 in twenty-eight battles he has never retreated, what may this
 86 be, Phussadeva?' And he answered: 'Victory lies behind
 us, O king; looking to the field of victory the elephant draws
 87 back, and at the place of victory he will halt.' And when
 the elephant had retreated he stood firm beside (the shrine of)
 the guardian god of the city within the precincts of the
 Mahāvihāra.

When the king of elephants had halted here the Daṃḍa
 Bhalluka came toward the king in that place and mocked at
 89 the ruler of the land. Covering his mouth with his sword the
 king returned insult for insult. 'I will send (an arrow⁴) into
 90 the king's mouth,' thought the other, and he let fly an arrow.
 The arrow struck on the sword-blade and fell to the ground.
 And Bhalluka, who thought: 'He is struck in the mouth,'
 91 uttered a shout for joy. But the mighty Phussadeva sitting
 behind the king, let fly an arrow into his mouth wherewith (as
 92 the arrow passed) he lightly touched the king's ear-ring. And
 since he made him thus to fall with his feet toward the king,
 he let fly yet another arrow at the falling man and struck

¹ To Anurādhapura. Cf. note to 7. 58.

² It is called Kolambālaka in 33. 42, and was situated (cf. note to that passage) not far from the north gate of Anurādhapura.

³ See note to 7. 16.

⁴ After *pātemi* 'I let fly', understand 'kaṇḍam', as in the *Tikā*.

him in the knee; and making him (now) to turn with his 93
head toward the king, thus with swift hand he brought him
down.¹ When Bhalluka had fallen a shout of victory went up.

To make known his fault Phussadeva himself forthwith cut 94
off the lobe of his own ear and showed the king the blood
streaming down. When the king saw this he asked: 'What does 95
this mean?' 'I have carried out the royal justice upon my-
self,' he said (in answer) to the ruler of the land. And to the 96
question: 'What is thy guilt?' he answered: 'Striking thy
ear-ring.' 'Why hast thou done this, my brother, taking as
guilt that which was no guilt?' replied the great king, and 97
in gratitude he said moreover: 'Great shall be thy honourable
guerdon, even as thy arrow.'

When the king, after winning the victory, had slain all 98
the Damiḥas he went up on the terrace of the palace, and
when, in the royal chamber there in the midst of the dancers 99
and ministers, he had sent for Phussadeva's arrow and had
set it in the ground with the feathered end uppermost, he 100
covered the dart over and over with kaḥāpapas² poured forth
upon it, and these he forthwith caused to be given to Phussadeva.

Sitting then on the terrace of the royal palace, adorned, 101
lighted with fragrant lamps and filled with many a perfume, 102
magnificent with nymphs in the guise of dancing-girls, while he
rested on his soft and fair couch, covered with costly draperies, 103
he, looking back upon his glorious victory, great though it
was, knew no joy, remembering that thereby was wrought
the destruction of millions (of beings).

When the arahants in Piyaṅgudīpa³ knew his thought 104
they sent eight arahants to comfort the king. And they, 105
coming in the middle watch of the night, alighted at the

¹ *Pādato* *katvā* and *sisato* *katvā*, lit. he made him 'foot-
wise' or 'headwise'. *Rājānaṃ* (*Duṭṭhagāmaṇi*) is dependent on
pādato (*sisato*). On the first shot Bhalluka fell backwards, so that
he would have lain with his feet towards *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi*. To prevent
this Phussadeva then shot a second arrow at him, which struck
Bhalluka in the knee, even as he fell, so that he now fell forward on
his face. From that moment he lay in the posture of one conquered
and overthrown, or of a slave before the king.

² See note to 4. 13.

³ See note to 24. 25.

- palace-gate. Making known that they were come thither through the air they mounted to the terrace of the palace.
- 106 The great king greeted them, and when he had invited them to be seated and had done them reverence in many ways he
- 107 asked the reason of their coming. 'We are sent by the brotherhood at Piyaṅgudīpa to comfort thee, O lord of men.'
- 108 And thereon the king said again to them: 'How shall there be any comfort for me, O venerable sirs, since by me was caused the slaughter of a great host numbering millions?'
- 109 'From this deed arises no hindrance in thy way to heaven. Only one and a half human beings have been slain here by
- 110 thee, O lord of men. The one had come unto the (three) refuges, the other had taken on himself the five precepts.¹ Unbelievers and men of evil life were the rest, not more to be
- 111 esteemed than beasts. But as for thee, thou wilt bring glory to the doctrine of the Buddha in manifold ways; therefore cast away care from thy heart, O ruler of men!'
- 112 Thus exhorted by them the great king took comfort. When he had bidden them farewell and had given them leave to
- 113 depart he lay down again and thought: 'Without the brotherhood you shall never take a meal,' thus our mother and father
- 114 have caused to swear us in our boyhood at the meal. Have I ever eaten anything whatsoever without giving to the brotherhood of bhikkhus?' Then he saw that he had, all
- 115 unthinkingly, eaten pepper in the pod, at the morning meal, leaving none for the brotherhood; and he thought: 'For this I must do penance.'
- 116 Should a man think on the hosts of human beings murdered for greed in countless myriads, and should he carefully keep in mind the evil (arising from that), and should he also very carefully keep in mind the mortality as being the murderer of all, then will he, in this way, shortly win freedom from suffering and a happy condition.

Here ends the twenty-fifth chapter, called 'The Victory of Dutthagāmaṇi', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ See notes to I. 32 and 62.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CONSECRATING OF THE MARICAVATTI- VIHĀRA

WHEN that king of high renown had united Laṅkā in one 1 kingdom he distributed places of honour to his warriors according to their rank. The warrior Theraputtabhaya would 2 not have that which was allotted to him, and being asked: 'Wherefore?' he answered: 'It is war.' And questioned 3 (yet again): 'When a single realm is created what war is there?' he answered: 'I will do battle with those rebels, the passions, (battle) wherein victory is hard to win.' Thus 4 said he, and again and again the king sought to restrain him. When he had entreated again and again he took the pabbajjā with the king's consent. After taking the pabbajjā he attained 5 in time to arahantship, and he lived in the midst of five hundred (bhikkhus) who had overcome the āsavas.

When the week of the festival of kingship was gone 6 by the fearless king Abhaya,¹ who had carried out the consecration with great pomp, went to the Tissa-tank, that was 7 adorned according to the festival custom, to hold festival plays there and to observe the tradition of crowned kings.

All that had been made ready for the king and hundreds 8 of offerings did they place on the spot where the Maricavattī-vihāra² (afterwards stood). There in the very place where 9 the thūpa (afterwards) stood the king's people who carried the spear planted the splendid spear with the relic.³ When 10 the king had disported himself in the water the whole day

¹ A play upon the words *abhaya* and *gatabhaya*.

² Now Miriswæṭṭi in the south-west part of Anurādhapura, north of Tissawewa. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura*, p. 19 foll.; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 294 foll.

³ Cf. 25. I, with note.

through, together with the women of the harem, he said, in the evening: 'We will go hence; carry the spear before us.'

- 11 And the people entrusted with (this duty) could not move the spear from its place; and the king's soldiers came to-
 12 gether and brought offerings of perfumes and flowers. When the king saw this great miracle, glad at heart he appointed sentinels there, and after he had returned forthwith into
 13 the city he built a cetiya in such wise that it enclosed the spear and founded a vihāra that enclosed the thūpa.
 14 In three years the vihāra was finished and the ruler of men called the brotherhood together to hold the festival (on
 15 the consecration) of the monastery. A hundred thousand bhikkhus and ninety thousand bhikkhunīs were gathered together
 16 there. Then in this assembly the king spoke thus to the brotherhood: 'Without a thought of the brotherhood, vener-
 17 able sirs, I ate pepper in the pod. Thinking: This shall be my act of expiation, I have built the pleasant Maricavatti-
 18 vihāra, together with the cetiya. May the brotherhood accept it!' With these words he poured forth the (ceremonial) water of a gift and piously gave the monastery to the brother-
 19 hood. When he had set up a great and beautiful hall in the vihāra and round about it, he commanded that lavish gifts
 20 should be given there to the brotherhood. The hall was so planned that stakes were set even in the water of the Abhayatank,¹ what need of further words to speak of the remaining space (covered)?
 21 When the ruler of men had given food, drink and so forth, for a week, he offered as a gift the whole of the costly
 22 necessities for samānas.² These necessities began with a cost of a hundred thousand (kahāpanas) and ended with a cost of
 23 a thousand. All this did the brotherhood receive. The money that was spent there in gratitude by the wise king,

¹ See note to 10. 84.

² The most costly parikkhāra (see note to 4. 26) was allotted to the most distinguished monks (Tī. saṃghattherāṇaṃ); the value was then graduated according to the rank of the recipient. The literal translation runs thus: the parikkhāra had at first (at the beginning) the value of . . . , at the end the value of . . .

who was a hero in battle as in largess, whose pure heart was filled with faith in the Three Gems, who desired to raise the (Buddha's) doctrine to glory, (that was spent) to honour the 24 Three Gems, beginning with the building of the thūpa and ending with the festival of the vihāra, (all this money), leaving 25 aside the rest of the priceless (gifts), is reckoned as but one less than twenty koṭis.¹

Treasures which, in truth, bear on them the blot of the five 26 faults² become, if they be acquired by people who are gifted with special wisdom, possessed of the five advantages;³ therefore let the wise man strive to have them thus.

Here ends the twenty-sixth chapter, called 'The Consecrating of the Maricavattī-vihāra', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The construction of the sentence in vv. 23-25 is thus: dhanāni tena katanāhunā raṭṭhā pariccattāni, ratanattayaṃ pūjetuṃ—sesāni anagghāni (dānāni) vimuñceiya—honti ekāya unavīsati koṭiyo. The instrumental cases yuddhe dāne ca sārēna, sūriṇā, ratanattaye paṣannāmalacittēna, sāsanajjatanatthiṇā are attributes of raṭṭhā, and the plural neuter thūpakārāpanādito vihāramahanantāni attribute of dhanāni.

² According to the Tīkā the five dangers which threaten the wealth are meant: loss by fire, water, living creatures, confiscation or brigandage.

³ The construction is: bhogā... honti... gahītasārā. The five benefits are, according to the Tīkā: popularity among men, high esteem among pious men, fame, fidelity in fulfilment of lay-duties, and attainment of heaven after death. These advantages are possessed by a kingdom when well governed.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CONSECRATING OF THE LOHAPĀSĀDA

- 1 HEREUPON the king called to mind the tradition known to
all, and duly handed down: 'The thera rich in merit, ever
2 intent on meritorious works, who formed his resolves in
wisdom, who converted the island did, as is known, speak
thus to the king, my ancestor: "Thy descendant, the king
3 Dutthagāmaṇi, the wise, will hereafter found the Great
Thūpa, the splendid Soṇṇamālī¹ a hundred and twenty cubits
4 in height, and an uposatha-house, moreover, adorned with
manifold gems, making it nine stories high, namely the
Lohapāsāda."²
- 5 Thus thought the ruler of the land, and finding, when he
made search, a gold plate kept in a chest and laid by in the
6 palace with such a written record thereon, he commanded that
the inscription be read aloud: 'When one hundred and
7 thirty-six years have run their course, in future time will
Kakavanna's son, the ruler of men, Dutthagāmaṇi, build
8 this and that in such and such wise.' When the king had
heard this read he uttered a cry of joy and clapped his hands.³
Then early in the morning he went to the beautiful Mahā-
9 megha-park, and when he had arranged a gathering together
of the brotherhood of the bhikkhus he said to them: 'I will
10 build for you a pāsāda³ like to a palace of the gods. Send

¹ I.e. 'provided with golden garlands,' now Ruwanwālī. The usual designation in Mah. is Mahāthūpa.

² For the sense of apphoṭeti (=Skt. ā-sphoṭayati) cf. Thūpa-vaṇṇa, 33²²: vāmahattham ābhujitvā dakkhiṇahatthena apphoṭesi.

³ See note to x, 14. The building was destined to contain the cells of the bhikkhus.

to a celestial palace¹ and make me a drawing of it.' The brotherhood of the bhikkhus sent thither eight (theras) who had overcome the āsavas.

In the time of the sage Kassapa² a brahman named Asoka, 11 who had set out eight ticket-meals³ (to be apportioned) to the brethren, commanded his serving-woman named Biraṇī: 12 'Give of this continually.' When she had given these gifts faithfully her whole life long she left this (world) and was 13 reborn as a lovely maiden in a gleaming palace, floating in the air, (and she was) continually served by a thousand nymphs. Her gem-palace was twelve yojanas high⁴ and 14 measured forty-eight yojanas round about; it was adorned 15 with a thousand jutting window-chambers, nine-storied and provided with a thousand chambers, gleaming with light, four-sided, with a thousand shell-garlands and with windows 16 as eyes and provided with a vedikā (adorned) with a network of little bells. In the middle of the (building) was the 17 beautiful Ambalaṭṭhika-pāsāda, visible from every side, bright with pennons hung out. When the theras, going to the 18 heaven of the thirty-three (gods), saw that (palace) they made a drawing of it with red arsenic upon a linen cloth, and they returned, and being arrived they showed the linen 19 to the brotherhood. The brotherhood took the linen and sent it to the king. When the king full of joy saw it he went 20

¹ By vimāna are meant the palaces serving as abodes for the gods and happy spirits. Cf. the Vimānavatthu, note to 14. 58.

² The last Buddha before Gotama; see 1. 10; 15. 125.

³ Saṭṭakabhutta. See note to 15. 205.

⁴ Here then we have a construction of several stories, diminishing in size towards the top (navabhūmika!) after the style of the Assyro-Babylonian ziggurat (RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 70 foll.; PERROT et CHIFFLET, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, ii, p. 390 foll.). Such a building is the Sat-mahal-prāsāda at Polonnaruwa, although belonging to a later time. See TENNENT, *Ceylon*, ii, p. 583; BURNOWS, *Archaeological Report*, x, 1886, p. 8; FÉROUSSE, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, i, p. 245; *Arch. Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*, 1903 (lxv, 1908), p. 14 foll. The word pāsāda serves now to designate the graduated galleries which form the base of thūpas. See SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 20, &c.

to the splendid ārāma and caused the noble Lohapāsāda to be built after the drawing.

- 21 At the time that the work was begun the generous (king)
 22 commanded that eight hundred thousand gold pieces should be
 23 placed at each of the four gates; moreover, at each gate he com-
 24 manded them to lay a thousand bundles of garments and many
 25 pitchers filled with ball-sugar, oil, sugar-dust, and honey, and
 26 proclaiming, 'No work is to be done here without reward,' he
 27 had the work done (by the people), appraised, and their wage
 28 given to them.
- 29 The pāsāda was four-sided, (measuring) on each side a
 30 hundred cubits, and even so much in height. In this most
 31 beautiful of palaces there were nine stories, and in each story
 32 a hundred window-chambers. All the chambers were overlaid
 33 with silver and their coral vedikās¹ were adorned with mani-
 fold precious stones, gay with various gems were the lotus-
 flowers² on the (vedikās) and they (the vedikās) were sur-
 rounded with rows of little silver bells.
- A thousand well-arranged chambers were in the pāsāda,
 overlaid with various gems and adorned with windows. And
 since he heard of Vessavaṇa's³ chariot which served as a car
 for the women, he had a gem-pavilion set up in the middle
 (of the palace) fashioned in like manner. It was adorned
 with pillars consisting of precious stones, on which were
 figures of lions, tigers, and so forth, and shapes of devatās;
 a bordering of pearl network ran round the edge of the
 pavilion and thereon was a coral vedikā of the kind that has
 been described above.
- Within the pavilion, gaily adorned with the seven gems,
 stood a shining beauteous throne of ivory with a seat of
 mountain-crystal, and in the ivory back (was fashioned) a sun

¹ On the balustrades of the projecting windows, cf. the descrip-
 tions in FOUCHER, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, fig. 100;
 GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist. Kunst*, fig. 27. See Appendix D, no. 30.

² For lotus-blossoms as a frequent ornament: FOUCHER, in the
 same work, fig. 97, 98; GRÜNWEDEL, fig. 3; balustrade with leaf-
 ornaments on cornices: FOUCHER, fig. 99.

³ See note to 10. 89.

in gold, a moon in silver, and stars in pearls, and lotus-blossoms 34 made of various gems were fitly placed here and there and Jātaka-tales in the same place¹ within a festoon of gold.

On the exceedingly beautiful throne covered with costly 35 cushions was placed a beautiful fan of ivory, gleaming (magnificently), and a white parasol with a coral foot, resting 36 on mountain-crystal and having a silver staff, shone forth over the throne. On it, depicted in the seven gems, were 37 the eight auspicious figures² and rows of figures of beasts with jewels and pearls in between; and rows of little silver 38 bells were hung upon the edge of the parasol. Palace, parasol, throne, and pavilion were beyond price.

Costly beds and chairs, according to rank, and carpets and 39 coverlets of great price did he command them to spread about. The rinsing-vessel and the ladle (belonging thereto) were even 40 of gold;³ what need then to speak of the other utensils in the palace? Surrounded by a beautiful enclosure and provided 41 with four gateways the pāsāda gleamed in its magnificence like the hall in the heaven of the thirty-three (gods). The 42 pāsāda was covered over with plates of copper, and thence came its name 'Brazen palace'.

When the Lohapāsāda was ready the king assembled the 43 brotherhood, and the brotherhood came together as at the consecration-festival of the Maricavāṭṭi (vihāra). Those 44 bhikkhus who were yet simple folk stood on the first story, those learned in the tipitaka on the second, but those who had entered on the path of salvation and the others (stood) 45

¹ On events in the former existences of the Buddha as a motive for decorative scenes see particularly FOUCHER, *l.c.*, p. 270 foll. For arrangements in the manner described here, see CUNNINGHAM, *Bharhut*, plate xl foll.

² WIJESINHA enumerates the aṭṭha maṅgalikāni: lion, bull, elephant, water-pitcher, fan, standard, conch-shell, lamp. The Thūpavamsa, 64th, mentions sirivaocha as the first (cf. 30; 65).

³ Ācāmakumbhī or ācāmanakumbhī—thus the Thūpavamsa 64th—is a vessel to hold water for washing the feet and hands, and is placed at the entrance of the temple (WIJESINHA). See M.V. I. 25; C.V. V. 35. 4.

each on one of the third and higher stories,¹ but the arahants stood on those four stories that were highest of all.

- 46 When the king had bestowed the pāsāda on the brotherhood, after pouring forth the (ceremonial) water of presentation, he commanded, as before, a lavish gift of alms for
47 a week. That which was spent by the generous king for the pāsāda, leaving aside all that which was beyond price, is reckoned at thirty koṭis.

- 48 The wise who consider how marvellously precious is the giving of alms, while the gathering together of treasures (for oneself) is worthless, give alms lavishly, with a mind freed from the fetters (of lust), mindful of the good of beings.

Here ends the twenty-seventh chapter, called 'the Consecrating of the Lohapāsāda', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ That is, on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th stories stood those who had attained to the first three stages of the path: the sotāpannā, the sakadāgāmino, and the anāgāmino. See notes to l. 33, 15, 18 and 13, 17. 'Simple folk' in verse 44 is puthujjanā, the unconverted, those who had not even entered on the path.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE OBTAINING OF THE WHEREWITHAL TO BUILD THE GREAT THŪPA

SPENDING a hundred thousand (pieces of money) the king 1 hereupon commanded a great and splendid ceremony of gifts for the great Bodhi-tree. As he then, when entering the 2 city, saw the pillar of stone raised upon the place of the (future) thūpa and remembered the old tradition, he became glad, thinking: 'I will build the Great Thūpa.' Then he mounted 3 the high terrace (of his palace), and when he had taken his repast and had lain down he thought thus: 'At the conquer- 4 ing of the Damiḷas this people was oppressed by me. It is not possible to levy a tax; yet if without a tax I build the 5 Great Thūpa how shall I be able to have bricks duly made?'

As he thus reflected the devatā of the parasol observed his 6 thought, and thereupon arose a tumult among the gods; when Sakka was aware of this he said to Vissakamma: 'King Gāmaṇi has been pondering over the bricks for the 7 cetiya: Go thou a yojana from the city near the Gambhīra-river and prepare the bricks there.' 8

Thus commanded by Sakka, Vissakamma came hither³ and prepared the bricks in that very place.

In the morning a huntsman there went into the forest with 9 his dogs; the devatā of the place appeared to the huntsman in the form of an iguana. The hunter pursued it, and 10 when he came (to the place) and saw the bricks, and when the iguana vanished there, he thought: 'Our king intends to 11 build the Great Thūpa;⁴ here is an aid thereto!'² Thereupon he went and told (this thing). When the king, to whom his 12

¹ See note to 18. 24.

² See note to 7. 44.

³ To Laṅkā or to Anurādhapura.

⁴ Or 'a great thūpa'.

people's good was dear, heard his welcome words he, glad at heart, bestowed on him a rich guerdon.

- 13 In a north-easterly direction from the city, at a distance of three *yojanas* and near *Ācāraviṭṭhigāma*, on a plain covering
14 sixteen *karisas* (of land) there appeared nuggets of gold of different sizes; the greatest measured a span, the least were
15 of a finger's measure. When the dwellers in the village saw the earth full of gold, they put some of it into a gold vessel and went and told the king of this matter.

- 16 On the east side of the city, at a distance of seven *yojanas*, on the further bank of the river and near *Tambapiṭṭha*, copper
17 appeared. And the dwellers in the village there put the nuggets of copper into a vessel, and when they had sought the king they told him this matter.

- 18 In a south-easterly direction from the city, four *yojanas* distant, near the village of *Sumanavāpi* many precious stones
19 appeared. The dwellers in the village put them, mingled with sapphires and rubies, into a vessel and went and showed them to the king.

- 20 In a southerly direction from the city, at a distance of eight *yojanas*, silver appeared in the *Ambaṭṭhakola*-cave.¹
21 A merchant from the city, taking many waggons with him, in order to bring ginger and so forth from *Malaya*, had set
22 out for *Malaya*. Not far from the cave he brought the waggons to a halt and since he had need of wood for whips
23 he went up that mountain. As he saw here a branch of a bread-fruit-tree, bearing one single fruit as large as a water-pitcher, and dragged down by the weight of the fruit, he cut
24 the (fruit) which was lying on a stone away from the stalk with his knife, and thinking: 'I will give the first (produce as alms),' with faith he announced the (meal) time. And there came thither four (themes) who were free

¹ Where the *Rajatalena-vihāra* (*Mah.* 35. 4) was afterwards built, now the *Ridi-vihāra* (Silver Monastery), to the north-east of *Kurunagala*, cf. E. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 39; TURNOUR, *Moh. Index*, s.v. *Ambaṭṭhakola*; RHYDS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins*, &c., p. 17. The distance between *Anurādhapura* and *Ridi-vihāra* is 35 miles = 95 km., as the crow flies.

from the āsavas. When he had greeted them gladly and 25
 had invited them with all reverence to be seated, he cut away
 the rind around the stalk with his knife and tore out the 26
 bottom (of the fruit), and pouring the juice which filled the
 hollow forth into their bowls he offered them the four bowls
 filled with fruit-juice. They accepted them and went their way. 27
 Then he yet again¹ announced the (meal) time. Four other
 theras, free from the āsavas, appeared before him. He took their 28
 alms-bowls and when he had filled them with the kernels of
 the bread-fruit he gave them back. Three went their way,
 but one did not depart. In order to show him the silver he 29
 went further down and seating himself near the cave he ate
 the kernels. When the merchant also had eaten as he wished 30
 of the kernels that were left, and had put the rest in a bundle, he
 went on, following the track of the thera, and when he saw the 31
 thera he showed him the (usual) attentions. The thera opened
 a path for him to the mouth of the cavern: 'Go thou now 32
 also on this path, lay brother!' When he had done reverence
 to the thera he went that way and saw the cave. Standing 33
 by the mouth of the cave and seeing the silver he struck upon
 it with his axe, and when he knew it to be silver he took 34
 a lump of the silver and went to his freight-waggons. Then
 leaving the waggons behind and taking the lump of silver
 with him the excellent merchant went in haste to Anurādha- 35
 pura and told the king of this matter, showing him the
 silver.

In a westerly direction from the city, at a distance of five 36
 yojanas, near the landing-place Uruvelā,² pearls in size like
 to great myrobalan fruits, mingled with coral, six waggon- 37
 loads, came forth to the dry land. Fishermen who saw them
 piled them together in a heap, and taking the pearls together 38
 with coral in a vessel they went to the king and told him of
 this matter.

In a northerly direction from the city, at a distance of 39

¹ *Pana* should probably be altered to *puna*.

² According to our passage the site of Uruvelā seems to be near the mouth of the Kala-oya, which is distant about 40 miles, as the crow flies, from Anurādhapura.

- seven yojanas, in a cave opening on the Peḷivāpikagāma-¹
 40 tank, above on the sand, four splendid gems had formed in
 size like to a small mill-stone, in colour like flax-flowers,
 41 (radiantly) beautiful. When a hunter with his dogs saw
 these he came to the king and told him: 'I have seen
 precious stones of such and such a kind.'
 42 The lord of the land, rich in merit, heard, on one and the
 same day, that the bricks and the other (treasures) had
 43 appeared for the Great Thūpa. Glad at heart he bestowed
 due reward upon those people, and appointing them forthwith
 as watchers he had the treasures all brought to him.
 44 Merit, that a man has thus heaped up with believing heart,
 careless of insupportable ills of the body, brings to pass
 hundreds of results which are a mine of happiness; therefore
 one must do works of merit with believing heart.

Here ends the twenty-eighth chapter, called 'the Obtaining
 of the wherewithal to build the Great Thūpa', in the Mahā-
 vamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the
 pious.

¹ The Peḷivāpi is the present Yavunik-kulam, a little over 50 miles
 north of Anurādhapura. The river, of which the damming-up has
 formed the tank, is called Peli-āru. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*,
 pp. 256, 365-366.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT THŪPA

WHEN the wherewithal to build was thus brought together 1 he began the work of the Great Thūpa on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha,¹ when the Visākha-constellation had appeared. When he had ordered to take away the stone pillar 2 the lord of the land had the place for the thūpa dug out to a depth of seven cubits² to make it firm in every way. Round stones that he commanded his soldiers to bring hither 3 did he cause to be broken with hammers, and then did he, having knowledge of the right and the wrong ways, command 4 that the crushed stone, to make the ground firmer, be stamped down by great elephants whose feet were bound with leather.

The fine clay that is to be found on the spot, for ever 5 moist, where the heavenly Gaṅgā falls down (upon the earth³) (on a space) thirty yojanas around, is called because of its fine- 6 ness, 'butter-clay.' Sāmaṇeras who had overcome the āsavas, brought the clay hither from that place. The king commanded 7 that the clay be spread over the layer of stones and that bricks then be laid over the clay, over these a rough cement and over 8 this cinnabar,⁴ and over this a network of iron, and over this sweet-scented marumba⁵ that was brought by the sāmaṇeras 9

¹ See note to I. 12.

² The reading *sattahatthe* is undoubtedly the correct one. WIJESINHA (note to this passage) says: the *Ṭikā* has *sata*. That, however, is not the case. It also reads *satta*.

³ The idea is that the Gaṅgā flows through the atmosphere, the earth and underworld.

⁴ *Kuruvinḍa* is 'ruby' or 'cinnabar'.

⁵ *Marumba* is used (C.V. V. 14-5; 35.4; VI. 3. 8) for besprinkling a damp *pariveṇa* (living-cell). At *Plcittiya* X. 2 (*Pā. Pā.* iv, p. 33) *pāsūṇā, saṅkharā, kaṭṭhalā, marumbā, vālikā* follow one upon another.

from the Himalaya. Over this did the lord of the land com-
 10 mand them to lay mountain-crystal. Over the layer of moun-
 tain-crystal he had stones spread; everywhere throughout the
 11 work did the clay called butter-clay serve (as cement). With
 resin of the kapittha-tree,¹ dissolved in sweetened water,²
 12 the lord of chariots laid over the stones a sheet of copper
 eight inches thick, and over this, with arsenic dissolved in
 sesamum-oil, (he laid) a sheet of silver seven inches thick.
 13 When the king, glad at heart, had thus had preparation
 made upon the spot where the Great Thūpa was to be built,
 14 he arranged, on the fourteenth day of the bright half of the
 month Asūlha, an assembly of the brotherhood of the
 15 bhikkhus, and spoke thus: 'To-morrow, venerable sirs, I shall
 lay the foundation-stone of the Great Cetiya. Then let our
 16 whole brotherhood assemble here, to the end that a festival
 may be held for the Buddha, mindful of the weal of the people;
 and let the people in festal array, with fragrant flowers and
 17 so forth, come to-morrow to the place where the Great Thūpa
 will be built.'

He entrusted ministers³ with the adorning of the place of
 18 the cetiya. Commanded by the lord of men, they, filled
 with deep reverence for the Sage (Buddha), adorned the
 19 place in manifold ways. The whole city also and the streets
 leading thither did the king command to be adorned in
 20 manifold ways. On the following morning he placed at the
 four gates of the city many barbers and servants for the
 21 bath and for cutting the hair, clothes likewise and fragrant
 flowers and sweet foods (did) the king (place there) for his
 22 people's good, he who rejoiced in the people's welfare. Taking,
 according to their wish, the things thus put before them,
 townsfolk and country-people went to the place of the thūpa.
 23 The king supported, in order of their rank, by many
 24 ministers, richly clothed as befitted their office, surrounded

¹ *Feronia Elephantum*.

² Rasodaka is translated by TENSOU 'water of the small red coconut'. The *Tikā* gives no explanation.

³ The *Tikā*, following the *Aṭṭhakathā*, gives their names, Viṁkha and Sirideva.

by many dancers richly clothed like to celestial nymphs, (he himself) being clad in his state-*raiment*, attended by 25 forty thousand men, while around him crashed the music (he being) glorious as the king of the gods; in the evening 26 he who had knowledge of fit and unfit places went to the place of the Great Thūpa,¹ delighting the people (with the sight). A thousand and eight waggon-loads of clothes rolled 27 in bundles did the king place in the midst, and on the four sides he had clothes heaped up in abundance; and moreover 28 he had honey, clarified butter, sugar and so forth set (there) for the festival.

From various (foreign) countries also did many bhikkhus 29 come hither; what need to speak of the coming of the brotherhood living here upon the island? With eighty thou- 30 sand bhikkhus from the region of Rājagaha² came the *thera* Indagutta, the head of a great school. From Isipatana³ 31 came the great *thera* Dhammasena with twelve thousand bhikkhus to the place of the *cetiya*.

With sixty thousand bhikkhus came hither the great *thera* 32 Piyadassi from the Jetārāma-vihāra.⁴ From the Mahāvana 33 (monastery) in Vesālī⁵ came the *thera* Urobbuddharakkhita⁶ with eighteen thousand bhikkhus. From the Ghositārāma in 34 Kosambī⁷ came the *thera* Urodhammarakkhita with thirty thousand bhikkhus. From the Dakkhināgiri in Ujjenī⁸ came 35 the *thera* Urusamgharakkhita with forty thousand aśeetika.

With a hundred and sixty thousand bhikkhus came the 36

¹ We should rather expect Mahāthūpapaṭiṭṭhānaṭṭhānam thānavicakkhaṇo: 'he went to the place where the Great Thūpa should be built, having knowledge of (fitting) places.'

² Cf. note to 2. 6.

³ A park and afterwards a monastery near Bārāṇasī (Benares) where the Buddha had preached his first sermon. M.V. I. 6. 6 foll.

⁴ I.e. Jetavana. See note to 1. 44.

⁵ See note to 4. 2. Also M.V. VI. 30. 6; C.V. V. 13. 3, and in many other places.

⁶ I.e. Mahābuddharakkhita.

⁷ See note to 4. 17; M.V. X. 1. 1; C.V. I. 25. 1, and often.

⁸ See note to 5. 39; 13. 5. Notice that the names of the three *theras* in 33, 34, 35, contain the words buddha, dhamma, saṃgha.

- thera named Mittiṇṇa from the Asokārāma in Pupphapura.¹
 37 From the Kasmīra country came the thera Uttiṇṇa bringing
 38 with him two hundred and eighty thousand bhikkhus. The
 wise Mahādeva came from Pallavabhogga² with four hundred
 39 and sixty thousand bhikkhus, and from Alasanda³ the city
 of the Yonas came the thera Yonamahādhammarakkhita with
 40 thirty thousand bhikkhus. From his dwelling by the road
 through the Viñjhā forest mountains,⁴ came the thera Uttara
 with sixty thousand bhikkhus.
 41 The great thera Cittagutta came hither from the Bodhi-
 42 maṇḍa-vihāra⁵ with thirty thousand bhikkhus. The great
 thera Candagutta came hither from the Vanavāsa⁶ country
 43 with eighty thousand ascetics. The great thera Suriyagutta
 came from the great Kelāsa-vihāra with ninety-six thousand
 44 bhikkhus. As for the number of the bhikkhus dwelling in
 the island who met together from every side, no strict account
 45 has been handed down by the ancients. Among all these
 bhikkhus who were met in that assembly those alone who had
 overcome the āsavas, as it is told, were ninety-six koṭis.
 46 These bhikkhus stood according to their rank around the
 place of the Great Thūpa, leaving in the midst an open space
 47 for the king. As the king stepped into this (space) and saw⁷

¹ I.e. Pāṭaliputta; see note to 4. 31. For Asokārāma, cf. 5. 80.

² Pallava is the name of the Persians=Skt. Pallava or Pahlava. Bhoggaṃ is perhaps 'šef'; cf. rājabhoggaṃ in D. I. 87^o and often elsewhere.

³ Alexandria in the land of the Yonas, i.e. the Greeks, probably the town founded by the Macedonian king in the country of the Paropanisadae near Kābul. See ARRIAN, *Anabasis* III. 28, iv. 22.

⁴ I.e. Vindhya. See 19. 6 with note.

⁵ A monastery built near the boddimāṇḍa at Bodhgayā, the place where Gotama attained to Buddhahood.

⁶ See note to 12. 31.

⁷ The Tīkā gives here (from the Aṭṭhakathā) the following peculiar explanation: 'As the king steps into the middle of the circle he expresses the following wish: if his work is to come to a happy issue then, as a sign thereof, may theras who bear the name of the Buddha, his doctrine and his order, take their places on the east, south, and west sides; but on the north side a thera with the name of Ānanda, the Buddha's beloved disciple. Each bhikkhu shall be surrounded by

the brotherhood of bhikkhus standing thus he greeted them joyfully, with believing heart; when he had then duly offered 48 them fragrant flowers and had passed round them three times, turning to the left,¹ he went into the midst, to the consecrated place of the 'filled pitcher'. Then forthwith uplifted by the 49 power of pure gladness he, devoted to the welfare of the beings, commanded that the pure turning staff (for tracing the circular boundary), made of silver and secured (by means 50 of a rope) to a post of gold, be grasped by a minister of noble birth, well attired and in festival array,² and, being 51 resolved to allot a great space for the cetiya, he ordered him to walk round (with the turning staff in his hands) along the ground already prepared.³ But the great therā of wondrous 52 power named Siddhattha, the far-seeing, prevented the king as he did this. Reflecting: 'If our king shall begin to build 53 so great a thūpa death will come upon him, ere the thūpa be finished; moreover, so great a thūpa will be hard to repair,' 54 he, looking to the future, prevented (the measuring of) that great dimension. In agreement with the brotherhood and 55 from reverence toward the therā, the king, though he would fain have made (the thūpa) great, hearkened to the therā's word and did, according to the therā's instruction, allot a 56 moderate space for the cetiya, that the (foundation) stones might be laid.

Eight vases of silver and eight (vases) of gold did he, with 57 tireless zeal, place in the midst, and in a circle around these he 58 placed a thousand and eight new vases, and likewise (around

a troop of companions of the same name. The king's wish is fulfilled.* The therā in question and their companions are called (cf. *Tikā*, pp. 383-384 and above v. 33 foll.) *Mahāśuddharakkhita*, *Mahādhammarakkhita*, *Mahāsaṃgharakkhita*, and *Mahāsanda*.

¹ *Kaṭṭhāna tipadakkhiṇam*. See note to 18. 38.

² *Tikā*: *Abhimaṅgalabhūtenā ti, janehi pinittatā abhimaṅgalasammatehi abutavattthūdihi alamkārehi patimaṇḍitattā ca samaṅgaliko ti* 'he was samaṅgalika because he was liked by the people and because he was adorned with ornaments that were believed to be festival, as new garments (not washed before) and so forth'.

³ And to draw, in this way, the circular outline of the thūpa.

59 each of these) a hundred and eight garments.¹ Eight splendid
bricks did he lay, each one apart by itself.² When he then had
60 commanded an official chosen for this and adorned in every way
to take one of them, he laid on the east side, which had been
61 prepared with many ceremonies, the first foundation stone,³
solemnly, upon the sweet-smelling clay.

When jasmine-flowers⁴ had been offered on that spot an
62 earthquake came to pass. And he caused the other seven
(stones) to be laid by seven (other) ministers and ceremonies (of
63 consecration) to be carried out. Thus he caused the stones
to be laid on the day appointed, the fifteenth uposatha day
in the bright half of the month Āsāḷha.

64 When he had reverentially greeted the four great theras
who were free from the āsavas, who stood there at the
four heavenly quarters, and when he had honoured them
65 with gifts he came in due course, greatly rejoicing, to the
north-east side, and when he (here) had greeted the great
thera Piyadassi, who was free from the āsavas, he took his
66 place near him. Exalting the festival ceremony there this
thera preached the true doctrine to him; the preaching of the
67 theras was rich in blessing for the people. The conversion of
forty thousand to the true doctrine took place, and (yet) forty
thousand (more) became partakers in the fruit of entering
68 into the path of salvation.⁵ A thousand lay-folk became even

¹ According to the Tīkā from *atthuttare atthuttare to viṣum viṣum* is to be read as ONE sentence, so that the stop after *pana* (in 58d) in the edition should be deleted. In this case we must add in 58c,d a second *parivāriya* with the meaning: 'laying around (them),' and the translation would be 'and in a circle around these he placed a thousand and eight new vases, and eight splendid bricks did he lay, each one apart by itself, (laying in a circle around) each of them a hundred and eight garments'.

² Namely East, NE., N., and so forth. The stones are called *pavarā* as they were of gold.

³ According to the Tīkā the theras Moggallāna had mixed the clay (*gandhapiṇḍa*), the theras Jayasena had poured the water on it.

⁴ *Jāti* and *sumanā* are both names for *Jasminum grandiflorum*.

⁵ They attained to the first stage of sanctification. See notes to I. 32 and 33.

such as have but one (earthly) existence before them, a thousand became such as have no other (earthly) existence (to come), and a thousand also became arahants.¹ Eighteen 69 thousand bhikkhus and fourteen thousand bhikkhunīs attained to arahantship.

Even so may every one whose heart is inclined to (faith in) 70 the Three Gems, knowing that by a benefactor of mankind, whose heart is set on generous giving, the highest blessing is brought to pass for the world, strive toward the attainment of many virtues, as faith and so forth.

Here ends the twenty-ninth chapter, called 'The beginning of the Great Thūpa', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ They attained to the second and third, and to the last and highest stage of sanctification. See notes to 15, 18 and 13, 17.

CHAPTER XXX

THE MAKING OF THE RELIC-CHAMBER

1 WHEN the great king had reverentially greeted the whole
brotherhood he invited them, saying: 'Even till the cetiya is
2 finished accept ye alms from me.' The brotherhood would
not consent; when he then by degrees¹ prayed (them to
3 accept) for a week he won acceptance, for one week, by the
half of the bhikkhus. When he had obtained this from them
4 he, satisfied, had pavilions set up in eighteen places around
the place of the thūpa and commanded there, for one week,
lavish gifts to the brotherhood. Then he gave the brotherhood
leave to depart.

5 Thereupon commanding that the drums be beaten he called
the master-builders together with all speed; in number they
6 were five hundred. And one of them answered the king, on
his asking: 'How wilt thou make (the thūpa)?' 'Taking a
7 hundred workmen I will use one waggon-load of sand in
one day.'

The king rejected him.² Thereon they offered (to work
with) one half less and yet one half less again, and (at last
8 with) two ammapas³ of sand. These four master-builders also
did the king reject. Then an experienced and shrewd master-
9 builder said to the king: 'I shall pound (the sand) in a
mortar, and then, when it is sifted, have it crushed in the
mill and (thus will use) one ammapa (only) of sand.'

¹ I.e. limiting his invitation more and more.

² The use of too much sand would tell against the durability of the thūpa. Therefore the Tīkā makes the king say to the master-builder: 'Shouldst thou do so the cetiya would be like a heap of pure sand and would be covered with grass and bushes.'

³ As a measure of capacity. The Abhidhānappadīpikā 484 defines the ammapa as 11 doṇā. The doṇā is 64 pasatā, i.e. handfuls. Cf. RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, pp. 17-18.

And on these words the lord of the land, whose courage 10 was like to Indra's, consented, with the thought: 'There will be no grass nor any such thing on our cetiya,' and he 11 questioned him saying: 'In what form wilt thou make the cetiya?' At that moment Vissakamma¹ entered into (and possessed) him. When the master-builder had had a golden 12 bowl filled with water, he took water in his hand and let it fall on the surface of the water. A great bubble rose up 13 like unto a half-globe of crystal. He said: 'Thus will I make it.' And well-pleased the king bestowed on him 14 a pair of garments worth a thousand (pieces of money) and ornamented shoes and twelve thousand kahāpaṇas.

'How shall I have the bricks transported without laying 15 burdens on the people?' Thus pondered the king in the night-time; when the gods were aware of this they brought 16 night after night bricks to the four gates of the cetiya and laid them down there, always as many as sufficed for one day. When the king heard this, glad at heart, he began work on 17 the thūpa. And he made it known: 'Work shall not be done here without wage.' At every gate he commanded to place 18 sixteen hundred thousand kahāpaṇas, very many garments, different ornaments, solid and liquid foods and drink withal, 19 fragrant flowers, sugar and so forth, as well as the five perfumes for the mouth.

'Let them take of these as they will when they have 20 laboured as they will.' Observing this command the king's work-people allotted (the wages).

A bhikkhu who wished to take part in the building of the 21 thūpa took a lump of clay which he himself had prepared,² went to the place of the cetiya, and deceiving the king's 22 work-people, he gave it to a workman. So soon as he received it he knew what it was,³ perceiving the bhikkhu's design. 23

¹ Cf. the note to 18. 24. Thus it is the god who acts and speaks through the medium of the master-builder.

² I.e. had kneaded and mixed. As he received no wage for this he hoped to have a share in the meritorious work of building the thūpa.

³ He recognized the brick by the difference in the composition.

A dispute arose there. When the king afterwards heard this he came and questioned the workman.

24 'Sire, with flowers in the one hand the bhikkhus are used
25 to give me a piece of clay with the other; but I can only
know (just so much) whether he be a bhikkhu from another
land or of this country, Sire.'¹

26 When the king heard this word he appointed an overseer
to show him the ascetic who had offered the lump of clay.
The other showed him to the overseer and he told the king.
27 The king had three pitchers with jasmine-blossoms placed in the
courtyard of the sacred Bodhi-tree and bade the overseer give
28 them to the bhikkhu.² When the bhikkhu, observing nothing,
had offered them, the overseer told him this while he yet stood
there. Then did the ascetic understand.

29 A therā living in Piyaṅgalla in the Koṭṭhivāla district, who
also wished to take part in the work of building the cetiya
30 and who was a kinsman of that brick-worker, came hither and
when he had made a brick in the size (such as was used there)
31 after having learned (the exact measure) he, deceiving the
work-people, gave it to the workman. This man laid it on
its place (in the thūpa), and a quarrel arose (on this matter).
32 When the king knew this he asked: 'Is it possible to
recognize the brick?' Although the workman knew it, he
33 answered the king: 'It is impossible.' To the question:
'Dost thou know the therā?' he answered: 'Yes.' So that
he might be made known the king placed an overseer near
34 him. When the overseer had thereby come to know him he
went, with the king's consent, and visited the therā in the
35 Kaṭṭhabhāla-pariveṇa and spoke with him; and when he had
learned the day of the therā's departure and the place whither

¹ The workman means by this that a more exact description of the personage was impossible to him. The conjectural reading of the Colombo edition *nevā ti* instead of *devāti* is unnecessary. The Thūpavaṇṇa has also (p. 61²³): *ayam pana āgantuko ayam nevāsiko ti ettakam jānāmi*. See Mah. ed., note to this passage.

² So that the bhikkhu might be rewarded in this way for his work on the thūpa.

he was going, and had said to him: 'I am going with thee to thy village,' he told the king all. The king commanded that a pair of garments, worth a thousand (pieces of money), and a costly red coverlet be given to him, and when he had (also) commanded to give him many things used by samāṇas, and sugar and a *nālī*¹ of fragrant oil withal, he laid his command upon him.

He went with the *thera*, and when *Piyaṅgallaka* was in sight he made the *thera* sit down in a cool shady place where there was water, and when he had given him sugar-water and had rubbed his feet with fragrant oil and put sandals upon them, he gave him the necessities (saying): 'For the *thera* who visits my house² have I brought these with me, but the two garments for my son. All this do I give to thee now.' When with these words he had given those (necessaries)³ to the *thera* who, after receiving them, set out again upon his journey, he, taking leave of (the *thera*), told him, in the king's words, the king's command.

While the Great *Thūpa* was built, people in great numbers who laboured for wages, being converted to the faith, went to heaven. A wise man who perceives that only by inner faith in the Holy One is the way to heaven found, will therefore bring offerings to the *thūpa*.⁴

Two women, who since they had also laboured here for hire, were re-born in the heaven of the thirty-three (gods), pondered when the *thūpa* was finished, upon what they had formerly

¹ A measure of capacity (*Abhidh.* 1057); *Sinh.* *nālīya*, according to *Clouston* 'about three pints wine-measure'.

² *Kalūpaka* or *-aga* is the name given in a family to a *bhikkhu* who continually frequents the house to receive alms, and enters thus into confidential relations with the family.

³ After *te* must be understood *parikkhāre*.

⁴ It is significant that in the *Tikā* there is no explanation of verses 43-50. These have indeed the look of a monastic legend (cf. particularly the practical application in verse 43), which may have been interpolated at a later period. In any case the interpolation must be old. It is found in all the groups of MSS. and also in the *Kambojān Mahāvamsa*, and the story appears again in the *Thūpa-vamsa*.

- done, and when they both became aware of the reward of their deeds, they took fragrant flowers and came to do
 46 reverence to the thūpa with offerings. When they had offered the fragrant flowers they did homage to the cetiya. At this moment came the therā Mahāsiva who dwelt in
 47 Bhātivāṅka (with the thought): 'I will pay homage by night to the Great Thūpa.' As he, leaning against a great
 48 saptapanna-tree,¹ saw those women and without letting himself be seen stood there gazing at their marvellous splendour, he, when their adoration was ended asked them:
 49 'Here the whole island shines with the brightness of your bodies; what works have ye done that ye have passed from
 50 this world into the world of gods?' The devatās told him of the work done by them in the (building of the) Great Thūpa; thus does faith in the Tathāgata bring a rich reward.
 51 The three terraces for the flower-offerings to the thūpa² did the theras of miraculous power cause to sink down so soon as they were laid with bricks, making them equal to the
 52 surface of the soil. Nine times did they cause them to sink down when they were laid. Then the king called together an
 53 assembly of the brotherhood of bhikkhus. Eighty thousand bhikkhus assembled there. The king sought out the brotherhood, and when he had paid homage to them with gifts and had
 54 reverentially greeted them he asked the reason of the sinking down of the bricks. The brotherhood answered: 'In order that the thūpa may not sink down of itself was this thing
 55 done by the bhikkhus of miraculous power, O great king; they will do it no more, make no alteration and finish the Great Thūpa.'
 56 When the king heard this, glad at heart he caused the work on the thūpa to be continued. For the ten flower-terraces³

¹ Ski, saptapanna, *Alstonia scholaris*.

² It seems that pupphādhāna means the three concentric galleries (the so-called pāsāda) which form the base of the thūpa proper. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura*, p. 27; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 286.

³ I.e. for the nine pupphādhānattayāni which had sunk and the tenth that remained on the surface.

ten kotis of bricks (were used). The brotherhood of 57 bhikkhus charged the two sāmāneras, Uttara and Sumana, saying: 'Bring hither, to (make) the relic-chamber in the cetiya, fat-coloured stones.'¹ And they set out for (the land 58 of) the Northern Kurus² and brought from thence six massive fat-coloured stones measuring eighty cubits in length and 59 breadth, bright as the sun, eight inches thick and like to ganṭhi blossoms.³ When they had laid one on the flower- 60 terrace in the middle and had disposed four (others) on the four sides, in the fashion of a chest, the (theras) of wondrous 61 might placed the sixth, to serve (afterwards) as a lid, upon the east side, making it invisible.

In the midst of the relic-chamber the king placed a bodhi- 62 tree made of jewels, splendid in every way. It had a stem 63 eighteen cubits high and five branches; the root, made of coral, rested on sapphire. The stem made of perfectly pure 64 silver was adorned with leaves made of gems, had withered leaves and fruits of gold and young shoots made of coral. The eight auspicious figures⁴ were on the stem and festoons 65 of flowers and beautiful rows of fourfooted beasts and rows of geese. Over it, on the border of a beautiful canopy, was 66 a network of pearl bells and chains of little golden bells and bands here and there. From the four corners of the canopy 67 hung bundles of pearl strings each worth nine hundred thousand (pieces of money). The figures of sun, moon and 68 stars and different lotus-flowers, made of jewels, were fastened to the canopy. A thousand and eight pieces of 69 divers stuffs, precious and of varied colours, were hung to the canopy. Around the bodhi-tree ran a vedika made of all manner 70 of jewels; the pavement within was made of great myrobalan-pearls.⁵

Rows of vases (some) empty and (some) filled with flowers 71

¹ See note to I. 39.

² See note to I. 18.

³ The *Ṭīkā* explains *ganṭhipuppha* by *bandhujivaka-puppha*. Cf. B.R., *Skt.-Wth.*, s.v. *bandhujiva*: *Pentapetes phoenicea* (hat eine schöne rote Blume . . .).

⁴ Cf. note to 27. 37.

⁵ See II. 14; cf. 28. 36.

- made of all kinds of jewels and filled with four kinds of
 fragrant water were placed at the foot of the bodhi-tree.
 72 On a throne, the cost whereof was one koṭi, erected to the
 east of the bodhi-tree, he placed a shining golden Buddha-
 73 image seated. The body and members of this image were duly¹
 made of jewels of different colours, beautifully shining. Mahā-
 74 brahmā stood there holding a silver parasol and Sakka carry-
 75 ing out the consecration with the Vijayuttara shell, Pañcasikha
 with his lute in his hand,² and Kālanāga with the dancing-girls,
 and the thousand-handed Māra with his elephants and train
 76 of followers. Even like the throne to the east (other) thrones
 were erected, the cost of each being a koṭi, facing the other
 77 seven regions of the heavens. And even thus, so that the
 bodhi-tree was at the head, a couch³ was placed, also worth
 one koṭi, adorned with jewels of every kind.
 78 The events⁴ during the seven weeks⁵ he commanded them
 to depict duly here and there in the relic chamber, and also the
 79 prayer of Brahmā,⁶ the setting in motion the wheel of the

¹ According to the *Ṭīkā* the finger-nails and the whites of the eyes were made of mountain-crystal, the palms of the hands, soles of the feet, and the lips of red coral, the eyebrows and pupils of sapphire, the teeth of diamonds, &c.

² Pañcasikha gandhabhaputto (D. II. 265¹² foll.; Jāt. IV. 69¹) is the poet and minstrel of the gods. He appears in attendance on Sakka in Jāt. III. 222¹³, &c.; IV. 63¹, &c., and often. The gandhabbā (Skt. gandharva) are the heavenly musicians.

³ To represent the death-bed of the Buddha, the parinibbāna-maṇca, and intended as a receptacle for the relics.

⁴ In the vv. 78-87 scenes from the Buddha's life, from the saṃbodhi to his death and obsequies, are enumerated. Cf. for this especially M.V. I. 1-23 (OLDENBERG, *Vin. Pt. i*, p. 1 foll.); the Jātakanidāna (FAUSBÖLL, *Jātakas*, I, p. 77 foll.); and for 84¹ foll. the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (D. II. p. 106 foll.; RHYS DAVIDS, *S.B.E.* xi, p. 44 foll., and *S.B.B.* iii, p. 71 foll.). KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 21 foll. On such scenes as the subject of bas-reliefs in buddhist monuments see FOUCHER, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, i, p. 414 foll.; GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddh. Kunst*, pp. 61 foll., 118 foll.

⁵ The time immediately after the saṃbodhi which the Buddha spent near the bodhi-tree.

⁶ Brahmā and the other gods entreat the Buddha to preach the discovered truth to the world.

doctrine, the admission of Yasa into the order, the pabbajjā of the Bhaddavaggiyas and the subduing of the jaṭilas; the visit of Bimbisāra and the entry into Rājagaha, the accepting of the Veḷuvana, the eighty disciples,¹ the journey to Kapilavatthu and the (miracle of the) jewelled path in that place,² the pabbajjā of Rāhula and Nanda,³ the accepting of the Jetavana, the miracle at the foot of the mango-tree, the preaching in the heaven of the gods, the miracle of the descent of the gods,⁴ and the assembly with the questioning of the thera,⁵ the Mahāmayasuttanta,⁶ and the exhortation to Rāhula,⁷ the Mahāmaṅgalasutta,⁸ and the encounter with (the elephant) Dhanapāla;⁹ the subduing of the (yakṣha) Ālavaka, of the (robber) Aṅguli-

¹ The smaller circle of the disciples after the admission of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

² The miracle of the ratanacūṭakama consisted in this that the Buddha created a path of gems in the air, pacing upon which he preached to the Sakyas. According to *Jat.* I, p. 88, the Buddha performed in Kapilavatthu the yamakapāṭihāriya (also called in v. 82 ambamūle pāṭihāra). Cf. note to 17. 44.

³ Mah. ed. read Rāhulananda* instead of Rāhulān*.

⁴ On these legends see SPENCE HARDY, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 295 foll., 298 foll., 301. Cf. FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 473 foll., 483 foll., 587 foll.

⁵ The allusion is to the assembly before the gates of Saṅkapura, where the Buddha appears, after his return from the heaven of the gods, and Sāriputta's intellectual superiority to the other disciples is demonstrated. SPENCE HARDY, *l. l.*, p. 302.

⁶ = Sutta 20 of the Dighanikāya (D. II, p. 253 foll.) preached in Kapilavatthu.

⁷ In Majjhima-Nik. I, p. 414 foll. is an Ambalaṭṭhikā-Rāhulovādasutta preached in Veḷuvana near Rājagaha; and at III, p. 277 foll. a Cūḷa-Rāhulovādasutta preached at Jetavana. Cf. also Samyutta-Nik. III, 135-136; IV, 105-107.

⁸ = Sutta-nipāta II, 4 (ed. FAUSBÖLL, p. 45).

⁹ A later name of the elephant which Devadatta lets loose upon the Buddha to crush him and whom the Buddha subdues by the power of his gentleness. SPENCE HARDY (*l. l.*, p. 320 foll.) mentions Nāḷagiri or Māḷagiri as his original name. The Milindapañña (ed. TRESCHEK), p. 207², has Dhanapālaka. In Sanskrit Buddhist sources Vāṣpālaka also occurs. KERN, *Buddhismus*, transl. by Jacobi, I, p. 251; FOUCHER, *l. l.*, p. 542 foll.

māla and the (nāga-king) Apalāla,¹ the meeting with the
 85 Pārāyanakas,² the giving-up of life,³ the accepting of the dish
 of pork,⁴ and of the two gold-coloured garments,⁵ the drinking
 86 of the pure water,⁶ and the Parinibbāna itself; the lamentation
 of gods and men, the revering of the feet by the thera,⁷ the
 burning (of the body⁸), the quenching of the fire,⁹ the funeral
 87 rites in that very place and the distributing of the relics by
 Doṇa,¹⁰ Jātakas¹¹ also which are fitted to awaken faith did the
 88 noble (king) place here in abundance. The Vessantara-jātaka¹²

¹ SPENCE HARDY, *l. l.*, pp. 261 foll., 249 foll.; BURKOURT, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 377; FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 507 foll., 514 foll.

² TURNOUR: 'the Pārāyana brahman tribe (at Rājagaha).'

³ Three months before his death the Buddha resolves to enter into the nibbāna at the end of that appointed time. An earthquake accompanies his resolve.

⁴ The dish set before the Buddha by the smith Conda—the sūka-ramaddava—brought on the illness which finally caused his death.

⁵ The garments were presented to the Buddha by the Malla Pukkusa. As Ānanda put them on him his body radiated unearthly brightness, as a sign of approaching death.

⁶ The turbid waters of the Kakutthā-river become clear by a miracle when Ānanda takes from it a draught for the Master.

⁷ None can succeed in setting light to the funeral pyre on which the body of the Buddha is lying, for the thera Mahākassapa is still on his way from Pāvā to pay the last honours to the dead Master.

⁸ After Mahākassapa has passed round the funeral pyre three times, and has then uncovered the master's feet and done homage to them, the pyre breaks into flame of itself.

⁹ Streams of water fall from heaven and extinguish the fire.

¹⁰ In order to settle the dispute that threatens to burn fiercely over the remains of the Buddha the brahman Doṇa divides them into eight parts.

¹¹ On pictorial representations of the Buddha's former existences (jātaka-stories) see FOUCHER, *l. l.*, p. 270 foll.

¹² *The Jātaka*, ed. FAUSBÖLL, vi, p. 479 foll. The existence as Vessantara is the Buddha's last earthly existence. He passes from this into the Tusita-heaven. Hence this jātaka has a particular significance. See FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 283-285. On a fresco representing this jātaka in a series of detached single scenes, in the Degaldoruwa monastery in Ceylon, see COOMARASWAMY, *Open Letter to the Kandyan Chiefs*, p. 6 foll. (reprinted from *Ceylon Observer*, Feb. 17, 1905).

he commanded them to depict fully, and in like manner (that which befell beginning at the descent) from the Tusita-heaven even to the Bodhi-throne.¹

At the four quarters of the heaven stood the (figures of) 89 the four Great kings,² and the thirty-three gods and the thirty-two (celestial) maidens and the twenty-eight chiefs of 90 the yakkhas; but above these³ devas raising their folded hands, vases filled with flowers likewise, dancing devatās and 91 devatās playing instruments of music, devas with mirrors in their hands, and devas also bearing flowers and branches, devas with lotus-blossoms and so forth in their hands and 92 other devas of many kinds, rows of arches made of gems and (rows) of dhammacakkas;⁴ rows of sword-bearing devas and 93 also devas bearing pitchers. Above their heads were pitchers five cubits high, filled with fragrant oil, with wicks made of 94 dukūla fibres continually alight. In an arch of crystal there was in each of the four corners a great gem and (moreover) 95 in the four corners four glimmering heaps of gold, precious stones and pearls and of diamonds were placed. On the wall 96 made of fat-coloured stones sparkling zig-zag lines⁵ were traced, serving as adornment for the relic-chamber. The king 97 commanded them to make all the figures here in the enchanting relic-chamber of massive wrought gold.⁶

¹ FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 285-289, 290 foll. The tusitā are a class of gods, Skt. *tusita*.

² The four guardians of the world (*lokapālā*): Dhatarattha in the N., Virūḥa in the S., Virūpakkha in the W., and Vessavaṇa in the E.

³ According to the *Ṭikā*'s interpretation this *tatopari* belongs to *añjalipaggahā devā*. The comma in Mah. ed. should then be moved accordingly.

⁴ The 'wheel of the doctrine', a sacred symbol of the Buddhists. Originally perhaps a sun-symbol. See SEWELL, *J.R.A.S.* 1886, p. 392.

⁵ *Vijjulatā*, literally 'lightnings'. The *Ṭikā* explains *vijjulatā* by *meghalatā nāma vijjukumāriyo*, and quotes from the *Parāṇā* (cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 45) the following verse: *meghalatā vijjukumārī medapindikabhittiya | samantā caturo passe dhūtagabbhe parikkhipi*.

⁶ The *Ṭikā* goes into fuller details, to refute those who may perhaps doubt the truth of the description. GEIGER, *l. l.*, p. 35.

- 98 The great *thera* Indagutta, who was gifted with the six
supernormal faculties, the most wise, directed here all this,
99 being set over the work. All this was completed without
hindrance by reason of the wondrous power of the king, the
wondrous power of the *devatās*, and the wondrous power of
the holy (*theras*).
- 100 If the wise man who is adorned with the good gifts of
faith, has done homage to the blessed (*Buddha*) the supremely
venerable, the highest of the world, who is freed from dark-
ness, while he was yet living, and then to his relics, that were
dispersed abroad by him who had in view the salvation of man-
kind; and if he then understands: herein is equal merit;
then indeed will he reverence the relics of the Sage even as the
blessed (*Buddha* himself) in his lifetime.

Here ends the thirtieth chapter, called 'The Making of the
Relic-Chamber', in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene
joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ENSHRINING OF THE RELICS

WHEN the subduer of foes had completed the work on the 1 relic-chamber he brought about an assembly of the brotherhood and spoke thus: 'The work on the relic-chamber has been com- 2 pleted by me; to-morrow I will enshrine the relics; do you, venerable sirs, take thought for the relics.' When the great 3 king had spoken thus he went thence into the city; but the assembly of bhikkhus sought out a bhikkhu who should bring relics hither; and they charged the ascetic named Soguttara, 4 gifted with the six supernormal faculties, who dwelt in the Pūjā-pariveṇa, with the task of bringing the relics.

Now once, when the Master was wandering about (on the 5 earth) for the salvation of the world, on the shore of the Ganges a brahman named Nanduttara invited the Sam- 6 buddha and offered him hospitality together with the brotherhood. Near the landing-place Payāga¹ the Master, with the brotherhood, embarked on a ship. As then the 7 thera Bhaddaji of wondrous might, endowed with the six supernormal faculties, saw there a place where the water whirled in eddies, he said to the bhikkhus: 'The golden 8 palace measuring twenty-five yojanas wherein I dwelt, when I was (the king) Mahāpanāda,² is sunk here. When the 9 water of the Ganges comes to it here it whirls in eddies.'

The bhikkhus, who did not believe him, told this to the Master. The Master said: 'Banish the doubts of the 10 bhikkhus.' Then to show his power to command even in the Brahma-world he rose, by his wondrous might, into the 11

¹ Skt. Prayāga, the holy place where Gaṅgā and Yamunā unite.

² Cf. Mah. 2. 4; Dip. 3. 7. There is also mention of M.'s palace, Mah. 37. 62 (= Cūḷavamsa 37. 12, ed. Col., p. 7; TURNOUR, *Mah.*, p. 229).

air and when he, floating at a height even of seven tālas, had taken the Dussa-thūpa¹ in the Brahma-world upon his
 12 outstretched hand, and had brought it hither and shown it to the people, he put it again in the place to which it belonged.
 13 Thereon he dived, by his wondrous power, into the Ganges, and seizing the palace by its spire² with his toe he raised it high up, and when he had shown it to the people he let it
 14 fall again there (to its place). When the brahman Nanduttara saw this wonder he uttered the wish: 'May I (at some time) have the power to procure relics that others
 15 hold in their possession.' Therefore did the brotherhood lay this charge upon the ascetic Soṇuttara³ although he
 16 was but sixteen years old. 'Whence shall I bring a relic?' he asked the brotherhood, and thereupon the brotherhood described the relics thus:
 17 'Lying on his deathbed the Master of the world, that with his relics he might bring to pass salvation for the world,
 18 spoke thus to (Sakka) the king of the gods: O king of the gods, of the eight doṇas⁴ of my bodily relics one doṇa, adored
 19 (first) by the Koliyas in Rāmagāma,⁵ shall be borne thence into the kingdom of the nāgas and when it will be adored even there by the nāgas it (at the last) shall come to be
 20 enshrined in the Great Thūpa on the island of Laṭṭikā. The far-seeing and most wise thera Mahākassapa⁶ then, mindful of the (coming) division of the relics by king Dhammāsoka,

¹ Dāṭhārāma 35 (*J.P.T.S.* 1884, p. 113).

² For the meaning of thūpikā see *Attanagaluvaṃsa*, ed. ALWIS, IX. 7 (p. 32^a): *cetiyaṃ sise kiritaṃ viya kanakamayam thūpikaṃ ca yojetvā* 'having fastened a golden thūpikā on the summit of the cetiya like a diadem'.

³ Who had in fact been that same Nanduttara in a former existence.

⁴ A certain measure of capacity. See 17. 51. For the passage following cf. D. II. pp. 165-168.

⁵ The Koliyas were a tribe related to the Sakyas. The Rohiṇī was the boundary river between them. In the *Sumaṅgalā-Vilāsinī* (ed. RHYA DAVIDS and CARPENTER, i, p. 262) the capital of the Koliyas is called Vyagghapajja.

⁶ The saṃghathera after the Buddha's death and head of the First Council.

had a great and well-guarded treasure of relics placed¹ near 21
 Rājagaha (the capital) of king Ajātasattu as he brought 22
 thither the seven doṇas of relics; but the doṇa in Rāmāgāma
 he did not take, knowing the Master's intention. When the 23
 king Dhammāsoka saw the great treasure of relics he thought
 to have the eighth doṇa also brought thither. But, bethinking 24
 them that it was destined by the Conqueror to be enshrined
 in the Great Thūpa, the ascetics² of that time who had
 overcome the Īsavas prevented Dhammāsoka from (doing)
 this. The thūpa in Rājagāma, that was built on the shore 25
 of the Ganges, was destroyed by the overflowing of the
 Ganges, but the urn with the relics reached the ocean and 26
 stayed there in the twofold divided waters³ on a throne made
 of many-coloured gems surrounded by rays of light. When 27
 the nāgas saw the urn they went to the nāga palace
 Mañjerika of the king Kālanāga and told him. And he went 28
 thither with ten thousand koṭis of nāgas, and when he
 had brought the relics to his palace, (adoring them) with
 offerings meanwhile, and had built over them a thūpa made 29
 of all kinds of jewels and a temple above the (thūpa) also,
 he, filled with zeal, brought offerings continually, together
 with the (other) nāgas. There a strong guard is set; go thou 30
 and bring the relics hither. To-morrow will the lord of the
 land set about enshrining the relics.'

When he had heard these words of the brotherhood he, 31
 answering 'Yes (I shall do so)', withdrew to his cell pondering
 over the time when he must set forth. 'To-morrow the 32
 enshrining of the relics shall take place,' thus proclaimed
 the king by beat of drums in the city, by which all that

¹ Kārāpento at 21 c seems to be employed pleonastically. The construction of the sentence may be explained, as I have indicated by the punctuation in the edition, thus: Mahākassapathero... mahādhātuniddhānaṃ... kārāyī, Rājagahassa rañño Ajātasattuno sāmante (taṃ niddhānaṃ) kārāpento.

² Tika: tattha khīṇāsavā yutī ti tasmim Dhammāso-kakāle khīṇāsavā bhikkhū.

³ The waters of the sea divide to receive the urn. TURNOUR'S translation: 'Where the stream of the Ganges spreads in two opposite directions,' certainly does not give the right sense.

- 33 must be done is set forth. He commanded that the whole city and the road leading hither¹ be carefully adorned and
 34 that the burghers be clad in festal garments. Sakka, the king of the gods, summoning Vissakamma (for this task), caused the whole island of Lankā to be adorned in manifold ways.
 35 At the four gates of the city the ruler of men had garments, food and so forth placed for the use of the people.
 36 On the fifteenth uposatha-day in the evening, (the king) glad at heart, well versed in the duties of kings, arrayed in all
 37 his ornaments, surrounded on every side by all his dancing-women and his warriors in complete armour, by a great body
 38 of troops, as well as by variously adorned elephants, horses and chariots, mounted his car of state² that was drawn by
 39 four pure white Sindhu-horses³ and stood there, making the (sumptuously) adorned and beautiful elephant Kaṇḍala pace before him, holding a golden casket⁴ under the white parasol.
 40 A thousand and eight beautiful women from the city, with the adornment of well-filled pitchers, surrounded the car and,
 41 even as many women bearing baskets (filled) with various
 42 flowers, and as many again bearing lamps on staves. A thousand and eight boys in festal array surrounded him, bearing
 43 beautiful many-coloured flags. While the earth seemed as it were rent⁵ asunder by all manner of sounds from various instruments of music, by the (thundering) noise of elephants,
 44 horses and chariots, the renowned king shone forth, as he went to the Mahāmeghavana, in glory like to the king of the gods when he goes to Nandavana.⁶
 45 When the ascetic Sonuttara, sitting in his cell, heard the noise of the music in the city⁷ as the king began to

¹ I.e. to the Mahāvihāra.

² Suratha, according to the Tīkā, is used here as maṅgalaratha elsewhere.

³ See note to 23. 71.

⁴ To receive the relics.

⁵ The loc. absol. bhijjante viya bhūtale does not belong to the whole sentence but especially to the pres. part. yanto.

⁶ See note to 15. 185.

⁷ Pure is not 'for the first time' (Turnour) but = nagaramhi (Tīkā).

set out, he went, plunging into the earth to the palace of the 46
 nāgas and appeared there in a short time before the nāga-
 king. When the king of the nāgas had risen up and had 47
 greeted him and invited him to be seated on a throne, he
 paid him the honours due to a guest and questioned him as
 to the country whence he had come. When this was told he 48
 asked the reason of the therā's coming. And he told him
 the whole matter and gave him the message of the brother-
 hood: 'The relics that are here in thy hands are appointed 49
 by the Buddha to be enshrined in the Great Thūpa; do thou
 then give them to me.' When the nāga-king heard this, he 50
 was sorely troubled and thought: 'This samaṇa might have
 the power to take them from me by force; therefore must the 51
 relics be carried elsewhere,' and he made this known by a sign
 to his nephew, who was present there. And he, who was 52
 named Vāsuladatta, understanding the hint, went to the
 temple of the cetiya, and when he had swallowed the urn
 (with the relics) he went to the foot of Mount Sineru¹ and 53
 lay there coiled in a circle. Three hundred yojanas long
 was the ring and one yojana was his measure around.² When 54
 the (nāga) of wondrous might had created many thousand
 (heads with puffed-up) hoods he belched forth, as he lay
 there, smoke and fire. When he (then) had created many 55
 thousand snakes like to himself, he made them lie about him
 in a circle.

Many nāgas and devas came thither then with the thought: 56
 'We will behold the combat of the two nāgas.'³

¹ Name of the mythical mountain Meru which is the central point of the universe.

² That is, the nāga's body was a yojana in circumference. The *Ṭikā* gives another sense to the passage. According to it bhogo is equal to bhogavā, i.e. snake, and yojanavattavā equal to yojanasattavā, sata being understood from what precedes. That is certainly too artificial. TURNOUR translates, 'with a hood forty yojanas broad'; WIRMSRYHA: 'one yojana broad.' But none of this appears in the text.

³ A double meaning. Read one way nāga 'snake-demon', refers to Vāsuladatta; the other way, referring to the therā, it means, 'hero, great or mighty man.'

- 57 When the uncle perceived that the relics had been taken
thence by his nephew, he said to the thera: 'There are no
58 relics with me.' The thera told him the story of the coming
of the relics from the beginning, and said then to the nāga-
king: 'Give thou the relics.'
- 59 And to content him by some other means the serpent-king
took the thera with him and went to the temple with the
60 cetiya and described it to him: 'See, O bhikkhu, this cetiya
adorned with many gems in many ways and the nobly built
61 temple for the cetiya. Nay, but all the jewels in the whole
island of Laṅkā are not of so great worth as the stone-slab¹ at
the foot of the steps; what shall be said of the other (treasures)?
62 Truly it befits thee not, O bhikkhu, to bear away the relics
from a place of high honour to a place of lesser honour.'
- 63 'Verily, there is no understanding of the truth² among
you nāgas. It were fitting indeed to bear away the relics to
64 a place where there is understanding of the truth. The
Tathāgatas are born for deliverance from the saṃsāra, and
thereon is the Buddha intent, therefore I will bear away the
65 relics. This very day the king will set about enshrining
the relics; swiftly then give me the relics without delay.'
- 66 The nāga said: 'If thou shalt see the relics, venerable sir,
take them and go.' Three times the thera made him repeat
67 this (word), then did the thera standing on that very spot
create a (long) slender arm, and stretching the hand straight-
68 way down the throat of the nephew he took the urn with
the relics, and crying: 'Stay, nāga!' he plunged into the
earth and rose up (out of it) in his cell.
- 69 The nāga-king thought: 'The bhikkhu is gone hence,

¹ At the lower end of the stairway of buildings in Ceylon lie semi-circular stones with gracefully executed ornaments, the so-called 'Moonstones'. SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 58, with Plate LVII. fig. 8.

² Certainly to be taken in the concrete sense of the four holy Truths (*ariya-saccāni*) which form the foundation of Buddhist doctrine; the Truths concerning sorrow, the cause of sorrow, the cessation of sorrow, and the way leading to the cessation of sorrow. *Samyutta*, v. 420.

deceived by us,¹ and he sent to his nephew to bring the relics (again). But when the nephew could not find the urn in his 70 belly he came lamenting and told his uncle. Then the nāga- 71 king also lamented: 'We are betrayed,' and all the nāgas who came in crowds lamented likewise. But rejoicing in the victory 72 of the mighty bhikkhu² the gods assembled, and adoring the relics with offerings they came together with the (thera).

Lamenting, the nāgas came to the brotherhood and made 73 right woful plaint sorrowful over the carrying away of the relics. From compassion the brotherhood left them a few of 74 the relics; rejoicing at this they went and brought treasures as offerings.

Sakka came to the spot with the gods bringing a throne 75 set with jewels and a casket of gold. In a beautiful pavilion 76 made of jewels that was built by Vissakamma on the spot, where the thera had emerged (from the earth), he set up the throne and when he had received the urn with the relics from 77 the hand of the thera, and had put them in the casket he placed it on the throne.

Brahmā held the parasol, Samtūsita the yak-tail whisk, 78 Suyāma³ held the jewelled fan, Sakka the shell with water. The four great kings⁴ stood with swords in their grip and the 79 thirty-three gods of wondrous power with baskets in their hands. When they had gone thither offering pāricchattaka- 80 flowers⁵ the thirty-two celestial maidens stood there bearing lamps on staves. Moreover, to ward off the evil yakkhas the 81 twenty-eight yakkha-chieftains stood holding guard. Pañca- 82 sikha stood there playing the lute, and Timbaru who had set up a stage, making music to sound forth.⁶ Many devas (stood 83 there) singing sweet songs and the nāga-king Mahākāla

¹ Lit. 'Of the nāga among bhikkhus.' See note to v. 56.

² Samtūsita and Suyāma also appear as devaputtā at A. IV. 242¹⁶, 243¹, and S. IV. 280¹². Cf. also Jāt. I. 48¹⁶, 53¹⁷, 81¹⁸⁻¹⁹; IV. 266².

³ See note to 30. 89.

⁴ Blossoms of a tree growing in the Tāvātīmasa-heaven. M.V. I. 20. 10; Jāt. I. 202¹⁴, IV. 265¹⁸.

⁵ On Pañcasikha see note to 30. 75; Timbaru is called in D. II. 268²⁻³ Gandhabha-rāja. With raṅgabhamīef. Sinh. raṅgabim (= raṅgamaḍu) 'place for acting, theatre'.

84 chanting praises in manifold ways. Celestial instruments of
music resounded, a celestial chorus pealed forth, the devatās
85 let fall a rain of heavenly perfumes and so forth. But the
thera Indagutta created, to ward off Māra, a parasol of copper
86 that he made great as the universe. On the east side of the
relics and here and there in the five regions¹ the bhikkhus
raised their song in chorus.

87 Thither, glad at heart, went the great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi,
and when he had laid the casket with the relics in the golden
88 casket that he had brought upon his head, and had placed it
upon a throne, he stood there with folded hands, offering
gifts to the relics and adoring them.

89 When the prince saw the celestial parasol, the celestial
perfumes, and the rest, and heard the sound of celestial in-
90 struments of music and so forth, albeit he did not see the
Brahma-gods he, rejoicing and amazed at the miracle, wor-
shipped the relics, with the offering of a parasol and investing
them with the kingship over Laṅkā.

91 'To the Master of the world, to the Teacher who bears the
threefold parasol, the heavenly parasol and the earthly and
92 the parasol of deliverance I consecrate three times my kingly
rank.' With these words he, with joyful heart, thrice con-
ferred on the relics the kingship of Laṅkā.

93 Thus, together with gods and men, worshipping the relics
with offerings, the prince placed them, with the caskets, upon
94 his head, and when he, surrounded by the brotherhood of the
bhikkhus, had passed three times, going toward the left,
around the thūpa, he ascended it on the east side and
95 descended into the relic-chamber. Ninety-six koṭis of ara-
hants stood with folded hands surrounding the magnificent
96 thūpa. While the king, filled with joy, when he had mounted
into the relic-chamber, thought: 'I will lay them on the
97 costly and beautiful couch,' the relic-casket, together with
the relics, rose up from his head, and, floating at a height of
98 seven tālas in the air, the casket forthwith opened of itself;

¹ By this is meant east, west, south, and north, and north-east,
also cf. 22. 64 and 65. In Skt. the north-east is called *aparājita*
diś, Manu VI. 31.

the relics rose up out of it and taking the form of the Buddha, gleaming with the greater and lesser signs,¹ they performed, 99 even as the Buddha (himself) at the foot of the gaṇḍamba-tree that miracle of the double appearances, that was brought to pass by the Blessed One during his lifetime.² As they 100 beheld this miracle, with believing and joyous heart, twelve koṭis of devas and men attained to arahantship; those 101 who attained the three other fruits (of salvation)³ were past reckoning.

Quitting the form of the Buddha those (relics) returned to their place in the casket; but the casket sank down again 102 and rested on the head of the king. Then passing round⁴ the relic-chamber in procession with the thera Indagutta and 103 the dancing-women, the glorious king coming even to the beautiful couch laid the casket on the jewelled throne. And 104 when he, filled with zeal, had washed again his hands in water fragrant with perfumes, and had rubbed them with the five kinds of perfumes, he opened the casket, and taking out 105 the relics the ruler of the land, who was intent on the welfare of his people, thought thus:⁵ 'If these relics shall 106 abide undisturbed by any man soever, and if the relics, serving as a refuge for the people, shall endure continually, then may they rest, in the form of the Master as he lay upon 107 his deathbed, upon this well-ordered and precious couch.'

Thinking thus he laid the relics upon the splendid couch; 108 the relics lay there upon the splendid couch even in such a shape. On the fifteenth uposatha-day in the bright half 109 of the month Āsāḷha, under the constellation Uttaraśāḷha, were the relics enshrined in this way. At the enshrining of 110 the relics the great earth quaked and many wonders came to pass in divers ways.

¹ See note to 5. 22.

² Cf. 17. 44, also the note to 30. 81.

³ I.e. the state of a sotāpanno, of a sakadāgāmi or of an anāgāmi. See notes to I. 33; 15. 18; 13. 17.

⁴ Pariharaṃ (part. pra.). The subst. parihāra = Sinh. pæra-hæra means a solemn procession.

⁵ A saccakiriya, cf. note to 18. 39.

- 111 With believing heart did the king worship the relics by
 (offering) a white parasol, and conferred on them the entire
 overlordship of Laṅkā for seven days.
- 112 All the adornments on his body he offered in the relic-
 chamber, and so likewise (did) the dancing-women, the
 113 ministers, the retinue and the devatās. When the king had
 distributed garments, sugar, clarified butter and so forth
 among the brotherhood, and had caused the bhikkhus to recite
 114 in chorus the whole night, then, when it was again day, he
 had the drum beaten in the city, being mindful of the
 welfare of the people: 'All the people shall adore the relics
 115 throughout this week.' The great thera Indagutta, of
 wondrous might, commanded: 'Those men of the island
 116 of Laṅkā who would fain adore the relics shall arrive hither
 at the same moment, and when they have adored the relics
 here shall return each one to his house.' This came to pass
 as he had commanded.
- 117 When the great king of great renown had commanded
 great offerings of alms to the great brotherhood of the
 118 bhikkhus for the week uninterruptedly, he proclaimed: 'All
 that was to be done in the relic-chamber has been carried out
 by me; now let the brotherhood take the charge of closing
 the relic-chamber.'
- 119 The brotherhood charged the two sāmaṇeras with this task.
 They closed up the relic-chamber with the fat-coloured stone
 that they had brought.¹
- 120 'The flowers here shall not wither, these perfumes shall
 not dry up; the lamps shall not be extinguished; nothing
 121 whatsoever shall perish; the six fat-coloured stones shall
 hold together for evermore.' All this did the (theras) who
 had overcome the āsavas command at that time.
- 122 The great king, mindful of the welfare (of the people),
 issued the command: 'So far as they are able (to do so) the
 123 people shall enshrine relics.' And above the great relic-
 treasure did the people, so far as they could, carry out the
 124 enshrining of thousands of relics. Enclosing all together

¹ Cf. with this 30. 61. The two novices are Uttara and Sumana, mentioned in 30. 57.

the king completed the thūpa and, moreover, he completed the four-sided building¹ on the cetiya.

Thus are the Buddhas incomprehensible, and incompre- 125
hensible is the nature of the Buddhas, and incomprehensible
is the reward of those who have faith in the incomprehensible.²

Thus do the pious themselves perform pure deeds of merit, 126
in order to obtain the most glorious of all blessings; and
they, with pure heart, make also others to perform them in
order to win a following of eminent people of many kinds.³

Here ends the thirty-first chapter, called 'The Enshrining
of the Relics', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy
and emotion of the pious.

¹ A dāgaba consists essentially of three elements. The dome, usually hemispherical, and ordinarily raised on a cylindrical base, forms the principal part. In the upper part of this is the relic chamber. The second part is a square block of brickwork now mostly known by the Burmese term 'tee'. This is the caturassacaya of our passage. Finally the 'tee' forms the base for the conical spire (chatta = parasol) that crowns the whole. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 263. In 32. 5 is evidently muddhavedī 'top or upper-terrace' or 'rail', a designation of the 'tee'. Cf. Appendix D, a.v. vedi.

² Cf. 17. 56.

³ Tikkā: khattiyabrāhmaṇādivividhavisesa janaparivāra-
hetubhūtāni puñṇāni pi pare ca kārentīti attho 'they make
also others to perform meritorious works which are the cause of
(obtaining) a following of eminent people of various kinds as
khattiyas, brāhmaṇas and so forth.'

CHAPTER XXXII

THE ENTRANCE INTO THE TUSITA-HEAVEN

- 1 **ER** yet the making of the chatta and the plaster-work¹
 on the cetiya was finished the king fell sick with a sickness
 2 that was (fated) to be mortal. He sent for his younger
 brother Tissa from Dighavāpi and said to him: 'Complete
 3 thou the work of the thūpa that is not yet finished.' Because
 of his brother's weakness he had a covering made of
 white cloths by seamsters and therewith was the cetiya
 4 covered, and thereon did he command painters to make on it a
 vedikā duly and rows of filled vases likewise and the row with
 5 the five-finger ornament.² And he had a chatta made of
 bamboo-reeds by plaiters of reeds and on the upper vedikā
 6 a sun and moon of kharapatta.³ And when he had had this
 (thūpa) painted cunningly with lacquer and kaṅkuṭṭhaka⁴ he
 declared to the king: 'That which was yet to do to the thūpa
 is completed.'
 7 Lying on a palanquin the king went thither, and when on

¹ On chatta see note to 31. 124. By sudhākamma is meant covering with stucco the dome of the cetiya which was made of brick.

² The vedikā (rail) seems, as it was counterfeited in painting, to have been merely an ornament. 'Buddhist railings' occur in low-relief as ornament on the cornice of the first pāsāda of the Ruwan-weli-dagaba (SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 26) as also, which may be taken into account here, on the 'tee' of the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana-dagaba (SMITHER, pp. 47 and 52). We also frequently meet with 'urns' as ornaments. But it is not clear what ornament is meant by pañcāṅgulikapantikā.

³ Muddhavedī = 'tee', see note to 31. 124. The picture of the sun on the four sides of the 'tee' is an emblem constantly found. Kharapatta = Skt. kharapatra is a name of different plants.

⁴ On kaṅkuṭṭhaka 'a kind of soil or mould of a golden or silver colour' = Skt. kaṅkuṭṭha, see Mah. ed., p. 355.

his palanquin he had passed round the cetiya, going toward the left, he paid homage to it at the south entrance, and as he 8 then, lying on his right side on his couch spread upon the ground, beheld the splendid Great Thūpa, and lying on his 9 left side the splendid Lohapāsāda, he became glad at heart, surrounded by the brotherhood of bhikkhus.

Since they had come from here and there to have news of the 10 sick (king), there were (present) in that assembly ninety-six koṭis of bhikkhus. The bhikkhus, group by group, recited in 11 chorus. When the king did not see the thera Theraputtābhaya among them he thought: 'The great warrior, who fought 12 victoriously through twenty-eight great battles with me nor ever yielded his ground, the thera Therasutābhaya comes not 13 now to help me, now that the death-struggle is begun, for methinks he (fore)sees my defeat.'

When the thera, who dwelt by the source of the Karinda- 14 river¹ on the Pañjali-mountain, knew his thought he came 15 with a company of five hundred (bhikkhus) who had over- come the āsavas, passing through the air by his miraculous power, and he stood among those who surrounded the king. When the king saw him he was glad at heart and he bade him 16 be seated before him and said: 'Formerly I fought with you, the ten great warriors, by my side; now have I entered alone 17 upon the battle with death, and the foe death I cannot conquer.'

The thera answered: 'O great king, fear not, ruler of men. 18 Without conquering the foe sin the foe death is unconquer- 19 able. All that has come into (this transitory) existence must necessarily perish also, perishable is all that exists;'²

¹ The Kirinda-oya or Māgama-ganga of which the mouth is in the Southern Province, east of Hambantota, and the source in the mountains south of Badulla. Consequently the Pañjali-pabbata must be sought here also.

² The thera alludes to the oft-quoted verse that is put into Sakka's mouth after the Buddha's death in the Mahāparinibbāhasutta (D. II. 157):

aniccā vata saṃkhārā uppiḍavayadhammino
uppiḍitvā nirujjhanti tesam vūpasamo sukho

*Transient are, alas! the saṃkhāras, having the nature of growth and

20 thus did the Master teach. Mortality overcomes even the
 Buddhas, untouched by shame or fear; therefore think
 thou: all that exists is perishable, full of sorrow, and unreal.
 21 In thy last mortal existence¹ thy love for the true doctrine
 was indeed great. Albeit the world of gods was within thy
 22 sight, yet didst thou, renouncing heavenly bliss, return to
 this world and didst many works of merit in manifold ways.
 Moreover, the setting up of sole sovereignty by thee did serve
 23 to bring glory to the doctrine. Oh thou who art rich in
 merit, think on all those works of merit accomplished by thee
 even to this present day, then will all be well with thee
 straightway!

24 When the king heard the thera's words he was glad at
 heart and said: 'In single combat also thou art my help.'

25 And rejoicing he forthwith commanded that the book of
 meritorious deeds be brought, and he bade the scribe read it
 aloud, and he read the book aloud:

26 'Ninety-nine vihāras have been built by the great king,
 and, with (the spending of) nineteen koṭis,² the Maricavattī-
 27 vihāra; the splendid Lohapāsāda was built for thirty koṭis.³

But those precious things⁴ that have been made for the Great
 28 Thūpa were worth twenty koṭis; the rest that was made for
 the Great Thūpa by the wise (king was worth) a thousand
 29 koṭis, O great king.' Thus did he read. As he read further:⁵

'In the mountain-region called Kottā, at the time of the famine
 called the Akkhakhāyika⁶ famine, two precious ear-rings were
 30 given (by the king), and thus a goodly dish of sour millet-

decay; having been produced they are dissolved again; blissful is
 their subjection.' The meaning of *saṃkhārā* is by no means fully
 rendered by 'existence'. RHYE DAVIES, *S.B.E.* xi, p. 117; *S.B.B.*
 iii, pp. 175-176, translates it with 'each being's parts and powers'.

¹ This refers to the story told in 22. 25-41.

² Cf. 28. 25.

³ Cf. 27. 47.

⁴ According to the *Ṭīkā* the adorning of the relic-chamber is meant here.

⁵ Translation of the words *ti vutte* in 33.

⁶ Lit. famine during which the nuts called *akkha* (*Terminalia*
Dellerica) were eaten, which at other times are used as dice. In the
Aṭṭhakathā, according to the *Ṭīkā*, the famine is called *Pāsāpa-*
chātaka.

gruel was gotten for five great theras who had overcome the āsavas, and offered¹ to them with a believing heart; when, 31 vanquished in the battle of Cūḷāṅganiya, he was fleeing² he proclaimed the hour (of the meal) and to the ascetic (Tissa), 32 free from the āsavas, who came thither through the air he, without thought for himself, gave the food from his bowl³—then did the king take up the tale:

⁴ In the week of the consecration-festival of the (Mari- 33 cavatti) vilāra as at the consecration of the (Loha) pāsāda, in the week when the (Great) Thūpa was begun even as when the relics⁵ were enshrined, a general, great and costly giving 34 of alms was arranged by me to the great community of both (sexes) from the four quarters.⁶ I held twenty-four great 35 Vesākha-festivals;⁷ three times did I bestow the three garments on the brotherhood of the island.

Five times, each time for seven days, have I bestowed (glad 36 at heart) the rank of ruler of this island upon the doctrine.⁸ I have had a thousand lamps with oil and white wicks 37 burning perpetually in twelve places, adoring the Blessed (Buddha) with this offering. Constantly in eighteen places 38 have I bestowed on the sick the foods for the sick and remedies, as ordered by the physicians.

In forty-four places have I commanded the perpetual giving 39 of rice-foods prepared with honey;⁹ and in as many places

¹ *Tikā*: kaṅgutapaṇḍulam gahetvā ambilayāgum pacāpetvā attano santikam āgatānam Malayamahādevattherādinam pañcannam khināsavamahātherānam adāsī.

² Cf. with this 24. 23-31.

³ Cf. 26. 21; 27. 46; 30. 4; 31. 117.

⁴ Ubbato-saṃgha is bbikkhusaṃgha and bbikkhupī-saṃgha. We meet with the epithet cātuddisa 'of the four quarters', frequently in the oldest cave-inscriptions of Ceylon. Cf. F. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 73; WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 144 foll.

⁵ Tradition makes the Buddha's nibbāna fall on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha (at that time March-April), *Sum.* i, p. 2; *Smp.*, p. 233; *Mah.* 3, 2. See FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 6 foll.

⁶ Cf. 31. 20-22; 111.

⁷ *Tikā*: saṃkhatam madhupāyasam, saṅkhamadhusap-pitehi saṃyojitam madhupāyasam.

40 lumps of rice with oil,¹ and in even as many places
 great jāla-cakes,² baked in butter and also therewith the
 41 ordinary rice. For the uposatha-festivals I have had oil for
 the lamps distributed one day in every month in eight
 42 vihāras on the island of Laṅkā. And since I heard that
 a gift (by preaching) of the doctrine is more than a gift
 of worldly wealth I said: At the foot of the Lohapāsāda, in
 43 the (preacher's) chair in the midst of the brotherhood, I will
 preach the Maṅgalasutta to the brotherhood;³ but when
 I was seated there I could not preach it, from reverence for
 44 the brotherhood. Since then I have commanded the preach-
 ing of the doctrine everywhere, in the vihāras of Laṅkā,
 45 giving rewards to the preachers. To each preacher of the
 doctrine did I order to give a nālī⁴ of butter, molasses and
 46 sugar; moreover, I bestowed on them a handful of liquorice,⁵
 four inches long, and I gave them, moreover, a pair of
 garments. But all this giving while that I reigned, rejoices
 47 not my heart; only the two gifts that I gave, without care
 for my life, the while I was in adversity, those gladden my
 heart.'

48 When the therā Abhaya heard this he described those two
 gifts, to rejoice the king's heart withal, in manifold ways:
 49 'When (the one) of those five theras⁶ the therā Malayama-
 hādeva, who received the sour millet-gruel, had given thereof
 50 to nine hundred bhikkhus on the Sumanakūṭa-mountain⁷
 he ate of it himself. But the therā Dhammagutta who
 51 could cause the earth to quake shared it with the bhikkhus
 in the Kalyāṇika-vihāra,⁸ (who were) five hundred in num-
 52 ber, and then ate of it himself. The therā Dhammaṇṇa,

¹ Tikā: telullopakam eva cūti, telauśśadakhīrasappi-
 maṇḍasaṃkhatam ālopādānam ca udāpayim.

² What jālapāva is I do not know. Nor does the Tikā give any
 explanation.

³ Sutta-nipāta, ed. FAUSBÖLL, p. 45. See note to 30. 83.

⁴ See note to 30. 87.

⁵ Yaṭṭhimadhukā (= Skt. yaṣṭimadhukā) the same as ma-
 dhuaṭṭhikā in CHILDERS, P.D., &c.

⁶ A detailed narration of the story alluded to in 32. 30.

⁷ See note to I. 83.

⁸ See note to I. 63.

dwelling in Talaṅga, gave to twelve thousand (bhikkhus) in Piyaṅgudīpa¹ and then ate of it. The thera Khuddatissa of 53 wondrous power, who dwelt in Maṅgaṇa, divided it among sixty thousand (bhikkhus) in the Kelāsa (vihāra) and then ate of it himself. The thera Mahāvyaḡgha gave thereof 54 to seven hundred (bhikkhus) in the Ukkanaḡara-vihāra and then ate of it himself.²

The thera³ who received the food in his dish divided it 55 among twelve thousand bhikkhus in Piyaṅgudīpa and then ate of it himself.⁴

With such words as these the thera Abhaya gladdened the 56 king's mood, and the king, rejoicing in his heart, spoke thus to the thera:

'Twenty-four years have I been a patron of the brother- 57 hood, and my body shall also be a patron of the brotherhood. In a place whence the Great Thūpa may be seen, in the 58 māḡaka⁴ (bounded about) for the ceremonial acts of the brotherhood, do ye burn the body of me the servant of the brotherhood.'

To his younger brother he said: 'All the work of the 59 Great Thūpa which is still unfinished, do thou complete, my dear Tissa, caring duly for it. Evening and morning offer 60 thou flowers at the Great Thūpa and three times (in the day) command a solemn oblation at the Great Thūpa. All the 61 ceremonies introduced by me in honour of the doctrine of the Blessed (Buddha) do thou carry on, my dear, stinting nothing. Never grow weary, my dear, in duty toward the brother- 62 hood.' When he had thus exhorted him, the king fell into silence.

At this moment the brotherhood of bhikkhus began the 63 chanting in chorus, and the devatās led thither six cars with

¹ See note to 24. 25. We cannot establish the identity of Talaṅga. TURNOUR (*Mah.*, p. 25) says: 'Singh. Talaguru-wihāre in Rōhapa not identified.'

² The geographical names in 53 and 54 cannot be identified. Kelāsa according to 29. 43 was a monastery in India.

³ The allusion in this verse is to the story in 24. 22-31; 32. 31-32.

⁴ See note to 15. 29.

- 64 six gods, and severally the gods implored the king as they stood in their cars: 'Enter into our delightful celestial world, O king.'
- 65 When the king heard their words he stayed them with a gesture of his hand: 'Wait ye as long as I listen to the
- 66 dhamma.' Then the bhikkhus thinking: 'He would fain stop the chanting in chorus,' ceased from their recitations;
- 67 the king asked the reason of the interruption. 'Because the sign (to bid us) "be still" was given,' they answered. But the king said: 'It is not so, venerable sirs,' and he told them what had passed.
- 68 When they heard this, certain of the people thought: 'Seized by the fear of death, he wanders in his speech.' And
- 69 to banish their doubts the *thera* Abhaya spoke thus to the king: 'How would it be possible to make known (the presence
- 70 of) the cars that have been brought hither?' The wise king commanded that garlands of flowers be flung into the air, these severally wound themselves around the poles of the cars and hung loose from them.
- 71 When the people saw them floating free in the air, they conquered their doubts; but the king said to the *thera*:
- 72 'Which of the celestial worlds is the most beautiful, venerable sir?' And the other answered: 'The city of the *Tusitas*,¹
- 73 O king, is the fairest; so think the pious. Awaiting the time when he shall become a Buddha, the compassionate *Bodhisatta Metteyya*² dwells in the *Tusita-city*.'
- 74 When the most wise king heard these words of the *thera*, he, casting a glance at the Great *Thūpa*, closed his eyes as he lay.
- 75 And when he, even at that moment, had passed away, he was seen, reborn and standing in celestial form in the car
- 76 that had come from *Tusita-heaven*. And to make manifest the reward of the works of merit performed by him he drove,
- 77 showing himself in all his glory to the people, standing on the same car, three times around the Great *Thūpa*,

¹ See note to 30. 88.

² *Metteyya* = *Skt. Maitreya* is the name of the future Buddha, successor of the historic Buddha *Gutama*.

going to the left, and then, when he had done homage to the thūpa and the brotherhood he passed into the Tusita-heaven.

Even where the dancing-women who had come thither laid 78 off their head-ornaments there was a hall built called Maku-tamuttasālā. Even where the people, when the body of the 79 king was laid on the funeral pyre, broke into wailing there was the so-called Ravivattisālā built.

The mālaka outside the precincts (of the monastery), in 80 which they burned the body of the king here bears the name Rājamālaka.

The great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, he who is worthy of the 81 name of king, will be the first disciple of the sublime Metteyya, the king's father (will be) his father¹ and the 82 mother his mother.¹ The younger brother Saddhātissa will be his second disciple, but Sāliṇājakumāra, the king's son, 83 will be the son of the sublime Metteyya.

He who, holding the good life to be the greatest (good), 84 does works of merit, passes, covering over much that perchance is evil-doing,² into heaven as into his own house; therefore will the wise man continually take delight in works of merit.

Here ends the thirty-second chapter, called 'The Entrance into the Tusita-heaven', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ That is Metteyya's.

² Niyatapāpakam is that which is certainly or without doubt evil; aniyatapāpakam that which is possibly evil. Here there is an allusion to the scruples of conscience which the king himself felt at the close of his warlike career. See 25. 103 foll.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE TEN KINGS

- 1 UNDER the rule of the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi the subjects
in the kingdom lived happily; Sāliṛājakumāra was his
famous son.
- 2 Greatly gifted was he and ever took delight in works of
merit; he tenderly loved a caṇḍāla woman of exceedingly
3 great beauty. Since he was greatly enamoured of the Aso-
kamālādevī, who already in a former birth had been his
consort,¹ because of her loveliness, he cared nothing for
4 kingly rule. Therefore Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's brother, SADDHĀ-
TISSA, anointed king after his death, ruled, a peerless (prince),
5 for eighteen years. He finished the work on the parasol,
and the plaster-work and the elephant-wall² of the Great
6 Thūpa, he who won his name by his faith.³ The magnificent
Lohapāsāda caught fire from a lamp; he built the Lohapāsāda
7 anew, seven stories high. And now was the pāsāda worth
(only) ninety times a hundred thousand. He built the Dak-
8 khināgiri-vihāra⁴ and the (vihāra) Kallakālana, the Kalam-
baka-vihāra, and the (vihāra) Pettaṅgavālika, (the vihāras)

¹ The story is told at length in the *Tikā*. Cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 37.

² Hatthipākāra: according to PARKER (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 284), who bases his conjecture on the dimensions of the tiles, the sustaining-wall of the upper 'pāsāda' on which are figures of elephants in relief. The sustaining-wall of the great terrace on which the Ruwanweli-dagaba stands is also ornamented with similar figures of elephants in relief, the forepart of the body jutting out from the wall (SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 40). But this hatthipākāra seems to be of later origin.

³ A play on the name Saddhātissa from saddhā = faith.

⁴ A monastery of this name appears also in the *Cūḷavāṇṇa*, 52. 60.

Velaṅgāvītthika,¹ Dubbalavāpitissaka and Dūratissakavāpi,² 9
and the Mātuvihāraka. He also built vihāras (from Anurā-
dhapura) to Dīghavāpi, one for every yojana (of the way).

Moreover, he founded the Dīghavāpi-vihāra³ together 10
with the cetiya; for this cetiya he had a covering of net-
work⁴ made set with gems, and in every mesh thereof was 11
hung a splendid flower of gold, large as a waggon-wheel,
that he had commanded them to fashion. (In honour) of 12
the eighty-four thousand sections of the dhamma the ruler
commanded also eighty-four thousand offerings. When the 13
king had thus accomplished many works of merit he was
reborn, after his death, among the Tusita gods.

While the great king Saddhātissa lived yet in Dīghavāpi 14
his eldest son Lañjatissa⁵ built the beautiful vihāra called
Girikumbhila; and Thūlathana, a younger son of this same 15
(king), built the vihāra called Kandara. When his father 16
(Saddhātissa) went to his brother (Dutthagāmaṇi at Anurā-
dhapura) Thūlathanaka went with him, to bestow land for the
use of the brotherhood upon his vihāra.

When Saddhātissa died all the counsellors assembled, and 17
when they had summoned together the whole brotherhood of
bhikkhus in the Thūpārāma, they, with the consent of the 18
brotherhood consecrated the prince THŪLATHANA as king, that
he might take the kingdom under his protection. When
LAÑJATISSA heard this he came hither,⁶ overpowered⁷ him, 19
and took the government upon himself. Only for one month
and ten days had Thūlathana been king.

During three years did Lañjatissa use the brotherhood 20
slightingly and neglect them, with the thought: 'They did
not decide according to age.' When, afterwards, he was 21

¹ See 37. 48.

² The tank Dūratissa is situated in Rohaya not far from Mahāgāma.
PARKER, *l. l.*, p. 393 foll.

³ See note to 1. 78.

⁴ The *Tika* explains *nānāratanakacchannam* by *sattarata-
nakhaicitajālam*.

⁵ Lañjitissa or Lañjitissa are variants of this name.

⁶ That is, to Anurādhapura.

⁷ *Gabetvā* is, without doubt, an euphemism for ' (having) killed '.

- reconciled with the brotherhood, the king built, in atonement,
 22 spending three hundred thousand (pieces of money), three
 stone terraces for offerings of flowers¹ to the Great Cetiya,
 and then did the lord of the land, with (the expense of)
 23 a hundred thousand, have the earth heaped up between the
 Great Thūpa and the Thūpārāma² so that it was level. More-
 over, he made a splendid stone mantling to the thūpa in the
 24 Thūpārāma, and to the east of the Thūpārāma a little thūpa
 built of stones,³ and the Lañjakāsana hall for the brotherhood
 25 of bhikkhus. Moreover, he had a mantling made of stone
 for the Khandhakathūpa. When he had spent a hundred
 26 thousand for the Cetiya-vihāra⁴ he commanded that at the
 (consecration) festival of the vihāra called Girikumbhila the
 six garments⁵ be distributed to sixty thousand bhikkhus.
 27 He built the Aritṭha-vihāra⁶ and the (vihāra) Kuṇjarahī-
 naka, and to the bhikkhus in the villages he distributed
 28 medicines. To the bhikkhupis he ordered to give rice as
 much as they wanted. Nine years and one half-month did
 he reign here.
 29 When Lañjakatissa was dead his younger brother named
 30 KHALĪTANĀGA reigned six years. Round about the Loha-

¹ See note to 20. 51.

² The Thūpārāma is situated 400 yards north of the Ruwanweli-dagaba.

³ PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 297, identifies the thūpa called Dīghathūpa in the Dīp., with the so-called Khujjatisārāma or Sela-dagaba. But this is not situated to the east (the Mah. has purato just as the Dīp. 20. 11 describes the position of the Dīghathūpa by Thūpārāma-puratthato) but to the south-east of the Thūpārāma, and it is twice as far from this latter as from the Ruwanweli-dagaba, so that orientation by the last-named, would be much more to the purpose. SMITHER (*Anurādhapara*, p. 55) is probably right in the conjecture that there is a reference in silāthūpaka to a little stone dagaba, a sort of model, similar to one that stands on the platform of the Ruwanweli-dagaba.

⁴ The monastery on the Cetiya-pabbata or Misaka-mountain. Cf. note to 20. 16.

⁵ That is, to each one a pair of the three articles of clothing (ticīvara), the antaravāsaka 'under-garment, shirt', the attarāsāṅga 'robe', and the saṃghāṭī 'mantle'.

⁶ On the Aritṭhapabbata, now Ritigala. See note to 10. 63.

pāsāda he built thirty-two exceedingly beautiful (other) pāsādās¹ to make the Lohapāsāda yet more splendid. Round 31 the Great Thūpa, the beautiful Hemamālī,² he made as a border a court³ (strewn) with sand and a wall. Moreover, he 32 built the Kurundavāsoka-vihāra, and yet other works of merit did the king carry out.

A commander of troops named Kammahārattaka, over- 33 powered the ruler, king Khallātānāga, in the capital itself. But the king's younger brother named VAṬṬAGĀMAṆI killed 34 the villainous commander and took on himself the government. The little son of his brother, king Khallātānāga, 35 whose name was Mahācūḷika, he took as his son; and the 36 (child's) mother, Anulādevī, he made his queen. Since he had thus taken the place of a father they called him Pitirāja.⁴

In the fifth month after he was thus anointed king, a young 37 brahman named Tissa, in Rohana, in the city (that was the seat) of his clan,⁵ hearkened, fool that he was, to the pro- 38 phesying of a brahman and became a rebel, and his following waxed great. Seven Damiḷas landed (at the same time) 39 with their troops in Mahātitttha.⁶ Then Tissa the brahman and the seven Damiḷas also sent the king a written message 40 concerning the (handing over of the) parasol.⁷ The sagacious king sent a written message to Tissa the brahman: 'The 41 kingdom is now thine, conquer thou the Damiḷas.' He answered: 'So be it,' and fought a battle with the Damiḷas, but they conquered him.

Thereupon the Damiḷas made war upon the king; in 42

¹ Perhaps dwellings of smaller dimensions, for the bhikkhus.

² See 15. 167; 17. 51 and 27. 3.

³ Literally, a 'sandcourt-boundary'. The allusion is to the so-called elephant-path that runs all round the terrace of the Ruwanweli-dagaba and is bounded on the outside by a wall. On the east, south, and north it is 97 feet wide, on the west, i.e. at the back, 88½ feet, SMITHS, *l. l.*, p. 41.

⁴ I.e. 'King father.'

⁵ I read kulānagare and understand by this Mahāgāma the town from which the dynasty of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi came.

⁶ See note to 7. 58.

⁷ As the symbol of kingly rank.

- a battle near Kolambālaka¹ the king was vanquished. (Near the gate of the Tittthārāma he mounted into his car and fled. But the Tittthārāma was built by king Paṇḍukābhaya and it
 43 had been constantly inhabited under twenty-one kings.)² As a nigaṇṭha³ named Gīrī saw him take flight he cried out
 44 loudly: 'The great black lion is fleeing.'⁴ When the great king heard that he thought thus: 'If my wish be fulfilled I will build a vihāra here.'
- 45 He took Anulādevī with him, who was with child, thinking: 'She must be protected,' and Mahācūḷa also and (his son) the prince Mahānāga, also thinking: 'They must be
 46 protected.' But, to lighten the car the king gave to Soma-devī⁵ his splendid diadem-jewel and let her, with her own consent, descend from the car.
- 47 When going forth to battle he had set out, full of fears, taking his little son and his two queens with him. Being
 48 vanquished he took flight and, unable to take with him the almsbowl used by the Conqueror,⁶ he hid in the Vessagiri-
 49 forest.⁷ When the thera Mahātissa from Kupikkala (vihāra) saw him there, he gave him food, avoiding thereby the giving
 50 of an untouched alms.⁸ Thereon the king, glad at heart,

¹ Evidently identical with the Kolambahūlaka, mentioned in 23, 80. See the note thereon.

² The passage enclosed in brackets occurs in all the groups of MSS. and is also referred to in the *Tikā*. I have omitted the three lines of verse from the edition, chiefly for reasons of form (see Introduction, p. xxi) as being a later gloss. The battle took place not far from the north gate of the city. See also 25, 80 foll. and the note to 33, 81.

³ See note to 10, 97. The name Tittthārāma alone indicates that the monastery was inhabited by non-Buddhist monks (titttha=sect).

⁴ Mahākūlasīhala is a play on the word *sīha* 'lion' and the name *sīhala* (Mah. 7, 42).

⁵ His second wife.

⁶ According to Mah. 17, 12 foll. it had come to Ceylon as a relic in the time of king Devānampiyatissa.

⁷ South of Anurādhapura. See note to 20, 15 on the Vessagiri-vihāra.

⁸ The bhikkhu is not allowed to share with a layman before he himself has eaten of the food that he has received as alms. So Mahātissa first ate of the food and then offered some to the king. STRAUFER, communication in a letter of Feb. 27, 1903.

recording it upon a *ketaka*-leaf,¹ allotted lands to his *vihāra* for the use of the brotherhood. From thence, he went to 51 *Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka*² and sojourned there; then he went to *Mātuvelāṅga* near *Sāmagalla* and there met the *thera* (*Kupik-* 52 *kalamahāṭiṣṣa*) whom he had already seen before. The *thera* entrusted the king with due carefulness to *Tanasīva*, who was his attendant. Then in the house of this *Tanasīva*, his subject, 53 the king lived³ fourteen years, maintained by him.

Of the seven *Damīlas* one, fired with passion for the lovely 54 *Somadevī*, made her his own and forthwith returned again to the further coast.⁴ Another took the almsbowl of the 55 (Master) endowed with the ten miraculous powers, that was in *Anurādhapura*, and returned straightway, well contented, to the other coast.

But the *Damīla* *PUḤAṬṬHA* reigned three years, making 56 the *Damīla* named *Bāhiya* commander of his troops. *BĀHIYA* 57 slew⁵ *Puḥaṭṭha* and reigned two years; his commander-in-chief was *Panayamāra*. *PANAYAMĀRAKA* slew *Bāhiya* and was 58 king for seven years; his commander-in-chief was *Piḷayamāra*. *PIḶAYAMĀRAKA* slew *Panayamāra* and was king for seven 59 months; his commander-in-chief was *Dāṭhika*. And the 60 *Damīla* *DĀṬHIKA* slew *Piḷayamāra* and reigned two years in *Anurādhapura*. Thus the time of these five *Damīla*-kings 61 was fourteen years and seven months.

When one day, in *Malaya*, *Anulādevī* went to seek 62 her (daily) portion the wife of *Tanasīva* struck against her basket with her foot. And she was wroth and came weeping 63 to the king. When *Tanasīva* heard this he hastened forth (from the house) grasping his bow. When the king had 64 heard what the queen said, he, ere yet the other came, took

¹ *Pandanus odoratissimus*. As a rule royal donations were recorded on copper plates or might be on silver and gold plates. GEIGER, *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, pp. 24-25.

² Cf. note to 33. 87; judging from the *Tikā* we should probably read "*kaṇḍakaṭṭhi* rather than "*kaṭakamhi*."

³ *Tahim* = in *Malaya*, according to 33. 62.

⁴ That is, he returned overseas to India.

⁵ *Gahatvā*. Cf. note to 33. 19.

- 65 the two boys and his consort and hastened out also. Putting
the arrow to his bow¹ the glorious (hero) transfixing Śiva² as he
came on. The king proclaimed (then) his name and gathered
66 followers around him. He obtained as ministers eight famous
warriors, and great was the following of the king and his
equipment (for war).
- 67 The famous (king) sought out the thera Mahātissa of
Kupikkala and commanded that a festival in honour of the
68 Buddha be held in the Acchagalla-vihāra.³ At the very time
when the minister Kapisīsa, having gone up to the courtyard
of the Ākāsa-cetiya to sweep the building, had come down
69 from thence, the king, who was going up with the queen,
saw him sitting by the road, and being wroth with him that
he had not flung himself down (before him) he slew Kapisīsa.
70 Then in anger against the king the other seven ministers
withdrew themselves from him, and going whither it seemed
71 good to them, they were stripped of their possessions by
robbers on the way, and they took refuge in the vihāra
Hambugallaka where they sought out the learned thera Tissa.
72 The thera, who was versed in the four nikāyas,⁴ gave them,
as he had received it (as alms), clothing, sugar and oil, and
rice, too, in sufficing measure.
- 73 When he had refreshed them the thera asked them:
'Whither are you going?' They made themselves known
74 to him, and told him this matter. But when they were asked
afterwards: 'With whom will it be possible to further the
doctrine of the Buddha? With the Damiḷas or with the
75 king?' they answered: 'By the king will this be possible.'
And when they had thus convinced them the two theras,

¹ Cf. the Skt. *dhनुष samdha* in the same sense B.R., *Skt. Wtb.*,
s. v. *dhā* with *sam*.

² A play on the words *Śiva* and *mahāsivo*.

³ See note to 21. 6. If the *Ṭikā* is right in placing the *Acchagalla-vihāra* to the east of *Anurādhapura*, the *Ākāsa-cetiya* mentioned in verse 68 cannot be identical with that mentioned in 22. 26 (see the note). The site of the latter is, no doubt, in *Rohana*.

⁴ I.e. in the four oldest collections of the *Sutta-piṭaka*: *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Saṃyutta* and *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.

Tissa and Mahātissa, took them forth from thence and brought 76 them to the king and reconciled them one to another. The king and the ministers besought the theras saying: 'If our 77 undertaking has prospered then must ye come to us, when a message is sent to you.' The theras agreed and returned each one to his place.

When the renowned king had come to Anurādhapura and 78 had slain the Damiḍa Dāthika he himself assumed the government. And forthwith the king destroyed the ārama of the 79 nigaṇṭhas and built there a vihāra with twelve cells. When 80 two hundred and seventeen years ten months and ten days had passed since the founding of the Mahāvihāra the king, 81 filled with pious zeal, built the Abhayagiri-vihāra.¹ He sent 82 for the (two) theras, and to the thera Mahātissa, who had first assisted him of the two, he gave the vihāra, to do him honour. Since the king Abhaya built it² on the place of the 83 ārama of (the nigaṇṭha) Giri, the vihāra received the name Abhayagiri.

When he had sent for Somadevī he raised her again to her 84 rank and built, in her honour, the Somārāma,³ bearing her name. For this fair woman, who had alighted from the car 85 at this spot and had concealed herself in a thicket of flowering Kadambas, saw in that very place a sāmaṇera who was relieving 86

¹ According to 33. 42-44 the monastery of the nigaṇṭhas, the Tittihārāma stood outside the north gate of Anurādhapura. Since, on its place the Abhayagiri-vihāra was built, it cannot be identical with the vihāra of the dagaba, which is now called the Abhayagiri-dagaba, but it must be that of the now so-called Jetavana-dagaba. On the other hand, as we will see below (cf. note to 37. 33), the site of the Jetavana-vihāra must be looked for south of the city where now the so-called Abhayagiri-dagaba stands. Tradition appears to have confounded one name with the other. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 299 foll.

² The king's full name was Vattagāmaṇi Abhaya.

³ The Somārāma or Maṇisomārāma, as the monastery is called 36. 8, 106, 107 (in allusion to the story in 33. 46) after the cuḷāmaṇi entrusted to Somadevī, must be sought near the Abhayagiri-vihāra, perhaps in the place of the building described by SMITH, *Anurādhapura*, p. 81, which is popularly designated the 'Queen's Pavilion'.

his need, using (decently) his hand for concealment. When the king heard her story he built a vihāra there.

87 To the north of the Mahāthūpa this same king founded upon a lofty spot the cetiya called Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka.¹

88 One of the seven warriors (of the king), Uttiya, built, to the south of the city, the so-called Dakkhina-vihāra.²

89 In the same place the minister named Mūla built the Mūlavokāsa-vihāra, which was, therefore, called after him.

90 The minister named Sāliya built the Sāliyārāma, and the minister named Pabbata built the Pabbatārāma; but the minister Tissa founded

91 the Uttaratissārāma. When the beautiful vihāras were completed they sought out the thera Tissa and gave them to him

92 with these words: 'In gratitude for thy kindness we give thee these vihāras built by us.'

93 The thera established sundry bhikkhus everywhere (in these vihāras), according to their rank, and the ministers bestowed upon the brotherhood the different (things) useful to a samaṇa.

94 The king provided these (bhikkhus) living in his vihāra with the (needful) things for use, so that nothing was lacking: therefore were they many in number.

95 A thera known by the name Mahātissa, who had frequented the families of laymen, was expelled by the brotherhood from our monastery³ for this fault, the frequenting of lay-families.

96 His disciple, the thera who was known as Bahalamassutissa, went in anger to the Abhayagiri (vihāra) and abode there,

97 forming a (separate) faction. And thenceforward these bhikkhus came no more to the Mahāvihāra: thus did the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri (vihāra) secede from the Thera-

¹ The statement as to locality, given in our verse, points, as PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 311, rightly insists, to the Laṅkārama-dagaba, which is situated about a mile north of the Ruwanwelidagaba. It received this name in remembrance of the place where Vajjagāmaṇi had found refuge, according to 33. 51.

² I. e. 'South Monastery.' PARKER, *l. l.*, p. 312, identifies the remains of the thūpa belonging to this monastery with the building south of the Mahāvihāra, which is called by the people, 'Eḷāra's sepulchre.' See also note to 35. 5.

³ Ito: 'from here' is from the standpoint of the author, 'out of the Mahāvihāra.'

vāda. From the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra those of the 98 Dakkhiṇa-vihāra separated (afterwards); in this wise those bhikkhus (who had seceded) from the adherents of the Theravāda were divided into two (groups).¹

He (the king) built the cells of the vihāra so that a greater 99 number were joined together, for he reflected: 'In this way it will be possible to restore them.'

The text of the three piṭakas and the aṭṭhakathā thereon 100 did the most wise bhikkhus hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away (from 101 religion) the bhikkhus came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books.

Thus did the king Vattaḡāmaṇi-Abhaya reign twelve 102 years, and, at the beginning,² five months beside.

Thus does the wise man labour, when he comes to rule, for 103 the bliss of others and for his own bliss, but a man without understanding does not render the possessions which he has won,³ however great they are, blissful for both, being greedy of (more) possessions.

Here ends the thirty-third chapter, called 'The Ten Kings', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ After 98 a spurious verse is interpolated: 'To bring prosperity to the bhikkhus dwelling on the island, who belonged to the great Abhaya-(giri-community), the lord of the land, Vattaḡāmaṇi, made over to them the so-called patti.' In 35. 48 patti simply means 'revenue'.

² That is, before the Damiḷas dethroned him.

³ Laddhabhogam, according to the Tīkā stands (*metri causa*) for laddhā (= labhivā, Skt. labdhvā) bhogam. But, I think, this is not necessary. We have to take laddhabhogam=laddham bhogam and abhayaśhitam as predicative object.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE ELEVEN KINGS

- 1 AFTER his death MAHĀCŪḲI MAHĀTISSA reigned fourteen years with piety and justice.
- 2 Since he heard that a gift brought about by the work of a man's own hand is full of merit, the king, in the very first
- 3 year (of his reign), went in disguise and laboured in the rice-harvest, and with the wage that he received for this he gave
- 4 food as alms to the thera Mahāsumma. When the king had laboured also in Soṇṇagiri¹ three years in a sugar-mill, and
- 5 had received lumps of sugar as wage for this, he took the lumps of sugar, and being returned to the capital he, the ruler of the earth, appointed great almsgiving to the brotherhood of
- 6 bhikkhus. He bestowed clothing on thirty thousand bhikkhus and the same on twelve thousand bhikkhunīs.
- 7 When the protector of the earth had built a well-planned vihāra, he gave the six garments² to sixty thousand bhikkhus
- 8 and to bhikkhunīs likewise, in number thirty thousand. The same king built the Maṇḍavūpi-vihāra, the Abhayagallaka
- 9 (vihāra), the (vihāras) Vāṇikāvattakagalla and Dīghabāhugallaka and the Jūlagāma-vihāra.
- 10 When the king (inspired) by faith had done works of merit in many ways he passed into heaven, at the end of the fourteen years.

¹ I.e. 'Gold mountain,' according to the *Ṭikā* situated near Ambaṭṭhakola. On this see note to 28. 20. The rocky mountain that rises on the east of Ambaṭṭhakola bounding the valley of Nālanda-Dambul on the west is called Rangala. *GRÜNER, Ceylon*, p. 135; *ED. MÜLLER, Ancient Inscriptions*, p. 36. The Dambulla-caves are also called Suvannagiri-guhā in king Nissanka Malla's inscription, *ED. MÜLLER, I.L.*, pp. 92, 126.

² See note to 33. 26.

Vatṭagāmapī's son known as CORANĀGA lived as a rebel 11 under the rule of Mahācūḷa. When Mahācūḷa had departed 12 he came and reigned. Those places, where he had found no refuge during the time of his rebellion, eighteen vihāras, 13 did this fool destroy. Twelve years did Coranāga reign. And eating poisoned (food) that his consort gave him the 14 evildoer died and was reborn in the Lokantarika-hell.

After his death king Mahācūḷa's son ruled three years as 15 king, being known by name TISSA. But Coranāga's spouse, 16 the infamous Anulā, had done her infamous (consort) to death, giving him poison, because she was enamoured of one of the palace-guards. And for love of this same palace-guard Anulā 17 now killed Tissa also by poison and gave the government into the hands of that other.

When the palace-guard, whose name was SIVA, and who 18 (had been) the first of the gate-watchmen, had made Anulā his queen he reigned a year and two months in the city; but 19 Anulā, who was enamoured of the Damiḷa Vaṭuka, did him to death with poison and gave the reign to Vaṭuka. The 20 Damiḷa VAṬUKA, who had been a city-carpenter in the capital, made Anulā his queen and then reigned a year and two 21 months in the city.

But when Anulā (one day) saw a wood-carrier, who had come to the house, she fell in love with him, and when she had 22 killed Vaṭuka with poison she gave the government into his hands. TISSA, the wood-carrier, when he had made Anulā his queen, ruled one year and one month in the city. In haste 23 he had a bathing-tank made in the Mahāmeghavana. But 24 Anulā, enslaved by passion for a Damiḷa named Niliya, a brahman who was the palace-priest, and eager to be united with him, did Tissa the wood-carrier to death giving him 25 poison and gave the government into (Niliya's) hands. And the brahman NILIYA also made her his queen and reigned, 26 upheld constantly by her, six months here in Anurādhapura. When the princess Anulā (who desired to take her pleasure 27 even as she listed with thirty-two of the palace-guards)¹ had

¹ The passage enclosed in brackets occurs in all the groups of MSS., but seems, as it interferes with the division of the śloka,

put to death Niliya also with poison, the queen ANULĀ herself, reigned four months.

- 28 But king Mahācūlika's second son, named KUTAKANNA-
29 TISSA, who had fled from fear of Anulā and had taken the
pabbajjā returned hither when, in time, he had gathered an
30 army together, and when he had slain the wicked Anulā he,
the ruler of men, reigned twenty-two years. He built upon
the Cetiya-mountain a great building for the uposatha-
31 festival and to the east of this building he raised a thūpa of
stone, and in that same place on the Cetiya-mountain he
planted a bodhi-tree.

- 32 In the region between the rivers he founded the Peḷagāma-
vihāra and in the same place (he made) a great canal called
33 Vappaka and the great Ambadugga-tank and the Bhayo-
luppala,¹ and moreover (he made) around the city a wall seven
34 cubits high and a trench. When he had burned the licen-
tious Anulā in the palace (upon the funeral pyre), he, with-
drawing a little (distance) from thence, built a new palace.
35 In the city itself he laid out the Padumassara-park. His
mother entered the order of the doctrine of the Conqueror
36 when she had just cleansed her teeth. On a plot for building²
belonging to his family he founded a nunnery for his mother:
and this was therefore known by name Dantageha.³

- 37 After his death his son, the prince named BHĀTIKĀBHAYA,
38 reigned twenty-eight years. Since he, the pious ruler of the
earth, was the brother of king Mahādāṭhika he was known
39 on the island by the name Bhātikarāja. Here⁴ did he carry
out the work of repairing the Lohapāsāda and built two

to be a later addition. (See Mah. ed. Introduction, p. xxi.) kattum in kattukūmā is a pregnant expression for samvāsam kattum.

¹ We fail to establish the names here because we do not know what is meant by antaragaṅgāya. The expression hardly denotes the delta of a river, but perhaps rather the region between Amba-ganga and Mahawweliganga.

² Lit. 'place for a house.' I read kulāsante. The Tika, too, renders its kulāyatte by kulasantake.

³ Lit. 'Tooth-house.'

⁴ I.e. in Anurādhapura.

vedikās for the Mahāthūpa, and the (hall) called the Uposatha (-hall) in the (vihāra) named after the thūpa.¹

And doing away with the tax appointed for himself he 40
planted sumana and ujjuka-flowers² over a yojana of land
round the city. And when the king had commanded that 41
the Great Cetiya, from the vedikā at the foot to the parasol at
the top, be plastered with (a paste of) sweet-smelling unguent 42
four fingers thick and that flowers be carefully embedded
therein by their stalks, he made the thūpa even as a globe of
flowers. Another time he commanded them to plaster the 43
cetiya with (a paste of) minium eight fingers thick, and thus
he changed it into a heap of flowers. Yet another time 44
he commanded that the cetiya be strewn with flowers from
the steps³ to the parasol on the top, and thus he covered it
over with a mass of blossoms. Then when he had raised 45
water by means of machines from the Abhaya-tank he, by
pouring (masses of) water over the thūpa, carried out a water-
offering. From a hundred waggon-loads of pearls, he, 46
bidding that the mass of plaster be carefully kneaded together
with oil, made a plaster-covering (for the Great Thūpa). He 47
had a net of coral prepared and cast over the cetiya, and
when he had commanded them to fasten in the meshes thereof
lotus-flowers of gold large as waggon-wheels, and to hang 48
clusters of pearls on these that reached to the lotus-flower
beneath, he worshipped the Great Thūpa with this offering.

When he heard one day in the relic-chamber the sound of 49
the arahants⁴ chanting in chorus he made the resolve: 'I will
not rise up till I have seen it,' and fasting he lay down at 50
the foot of the stone-pillar on the east side.⁵ The theras
created a door for him and brought him into the relic-

¹ I.e. in the Thūpārāma.

² Tikā: mahāsumanāni ca ujjukasumanāni ca, namely two kinds of jasmine.

³ The steps form the ascent from the 'elephant-path' (cf. note to 33. 31) to the great terrace, on which the cetiya stands.

⁴ Tādī is a synonym of arahā.

⁵ The Tikā paraphrases pācīnaddikamūlambī with pācīnaad-dikassasamīpe, pācīnadisāya silāttambhaussāpitattāhāne.

- 51 chamber. When the ruler of the earth had beheld all the
 adornment of the relic-chamber he went forth and made an
 offering of figures modelled with clay in close likeness to
 those (within).
- 52 With honeycombs, with perfumes, with vases (filled with
 flowers), and with essences, with auri-pigment (prepared) as
 53 unguent and minium; with lotus-flowers arrayed in minium
 that lay ankle-deep in the courtyard of the cetiya, where they
 54 had poured it molten; with lotus-flowers that were fastened
 in the holes of mattings, spread on fragrant earth, wherewith
 55 the whole courtyard of the cetiya was filled; with many
 lighted lamps, prepared with wicks made of strips of stuff in
 clarified butter, which had likewise been poured (into the
 56 courtyard) when the ways for the outflow had been closed up;
 and in like manner with many lamps with stuff-wicks in
 57 madhuka-oil¹ and sesamum-oil besides; with these things, as
 they were named, the prince commanded severally with each
 seven times offerings for the Great Thūpa.
- 58 And moreover, urged by faith, he ordered year by year
 perpetually a great festival (for the renewing) of the plaster-
 work; and festivals also of the great Bodhi-tree (in honour)
 59 of the watering of the Bodhi-tree, and furthermore twenty-
 eight great Vesākha-festivals² and eighty-four thousand lesser
 60 festivals, and also divers mimic dances and concerts, with the
 playing of all kinds of instruments of music (in honour) of
 61 the Great Thūpa. Three times a day he went to do homage to
 the Buddha and he commanded (them to give) twice (a day)
 continually (the offering known as) the 'flower-drum'.³
- 62 And he continually gave alms at the preaching⁴ and alms at
 the pavāraṇā-ceremony, and (distributed) also, in abundance,
 the things needed for the ascetic, such as oil, molasses,

¹ Oil pressed from the seeds of the *Bassia Latifolia*. The MSS. all have madhuka, and this should be the reading. In Skt. also the form madhuka exists beside madbuka.

² See note to 32, 35.

³ *Ṭikā*: divasassa dvīsu vāressu niyatam pupphapūjam ca akārayi.

⁴ Very doubtful. The MSS. support the reading chandadānam. Perhaps chanda is here a synonym of sajjhāya.

garments and so forth among the brotherhood. Moreover, 63 the prince bestowed everywhere land for the cetiyas, to the end that the cetiyas might be kept in repair. And constantly the 64 king bestowed food (as alms allotted) by tickets¹ to a thousand bhikkhus in the vihāra (of the) Cetiya-pabbata. At five spots, 65 namely, the three receiving-places,² called Citta, Mañi, and Mucala, as also in the Paduma-house and the beautiful Chatta-pāsāda, offering hospitality to the bhikkhus who were harnessed 66 to the yoke of the sacred word he provided them always with all that was needful, being filled with reverence for the religion. Moreover, all those works of merit which had been 67 ordered by the kings of old regarding the doctrine, all these did king Bhātika carry out.

After the death of Bhātikarāja his younger brother named 68 MAHĀDĀTHIKAMABHĀNĀGA reigned twelve years, intent on 69 works of merit of many kinds. He had kiñcikkha-stones³ laid as plaster on (the square of) the Great Thūpa and he turned 70 the sand-pathway round (the thūpa)⁴ into a wide court; in all the vihāras he had (raised) chairs put up for the preachers. The king built the great Ambathala-thūpa;⁵ since the 71 building was not firm he lay down in that place, bethinking him of the merit of the Sage (Buddha), risking his own life.⁶ 72 When he had thus made the building firm and had completed the cetiya he set up at the four entrances four bejewelled 73 arches that had been well planned by artists and shone with

¹ Salākavattabhatta, see note to 15. 205.

² Upatthāna is 'attendance, service'. Thus the allusion is to a place where people waited on the monks to offer gifts. The *Tika* calls the three places which are said to have been in the interior of the royal palace, Cittupatthānapāsāda, Mañipatthānapāsāda, and Mucalupatthānapāsāda.

³ Cf. Skt. kiñjalka 'stamens of the lotus-blossom'. CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s. v. 'Kiñjakkhapāsūgo appears to be some sort of marble or other ornamental stone'.

⁴ On the vālikāmarīyādā see note to 33. 31.

⁵ On the Cetiya-pabbata (Mihintale). See PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 320-322. Cf. 13. 20.

⁶ He ran a risk of being killed by falling stones during his meditation.

- 74 gems of every kind. To be fastened to the cetiya he spent
 a cover (for it) of red stuff and golden balls thereto and
 festoons of pearls.
- 75 When he had made ready around the Cetiya-mountain a
 (tract of land measuring a) yojana, and had made four gateways
 76 and a beautiful road round about (the mountain), and when
 he had then set up (traders') shops on both sides of the road
 and had adorned (the road) here and there with flags, arches,
 77 and triumphal gates, and had illuminated all with chains of
 78 lamps, he commanded mimic dances, songs, and music. That
 the people might go with clean feet on the road from the
 Kadamba-river to the Cetiya-mountain he had it laid with
 79 carpets—the gods themselves might hold a festival assembly¹
 there with dance and music—and he gave great largess at the
 80 four gates of the capital. Over the whole island he put up
 chains of lamps without a break, nay over the waters of the
 81 ocean within a distance of a yojana around. At the festival
 of (consecrating of) the cetiya these beautiful offerings were
 appointed by him: the splendid feast is called here (in the
 country) the great Giribhanda-offering.
- 82 When the lord of the earth had commanded almsgiving in
 eight places to the bhikkhus who were come together in the
 83 festal assembly, he, with the beating of eight golden drums
 that were set up even there, allotted lavish gifts to twenty-four
 84 thousand (bhikkhus). He distributed the six garments, com-
 manded the remission of the prison-penalties and he ordered
 the barbers to carry on their trade continually at the four
 85 gates. Moreover, all those works of merit that had been
 decreed by the kings of old and that had also been decreed by
 his brother, those did he carry out without neglecting any-
 86 thing. He gave himself and the queen, his two sons,² his
 state-elephant and his state horse to the brotherhood as their
 own, albeit the brotherhood forbade him.
- 87 To the brotherhood of the bhikkhus he gave gifts worth
 six hundred thousand, but to the company of bhikkhupis
 88 (such gifts) worth a hundred thousand, and in giving them,

¹ On *samaññā* see HARDY in *Album Kern*, p. 61 foll.

² *Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi* Abhaya and Tissa.

with knowledge of the custom, various possessions suited (to their needs) he redeemed (again) himself and the rest from the brotherhood. In *Kāśyānakappika* the ruler of men built 89 the (vihāra) called Mañināgapabbata and the vihāra which was called Kalanda, furthermore on the bank of the Kubukanda- 90 river the Samudda-vihāra and in *Huvācakappika*¹ the vihāra that bore the name Cūlanāgapabbata. Delighted with 91 the service rendered him in the vihāra that he himself had built, called Paśāpadīpaka, by a sāmaṇera who had given him a draught of water, the king bestowed on that vihāra (a tract 92 of land) in measure half a yojana round about, for the use of the brotherhood. And rejoicing likewise at (the behaviour of) 93 a sāmaṇera in the Maṇḍavāpi-vihāra the prince gave land for the use of the brotherhood to this vihāra.

Thus men of good understanding, who have conquered 94 pride and indolence, and have freed themselves from the attachment to lust, when they have attained to great power, without working harm to the people, delighting in deeds of merit, rejoicing in faith, do many and various pious works.

Here ends the thirty-fourth chapter, called 'The Eleven Kings', in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious;

¹ According to the *Tikā* a district in Rohana.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE TWELVE KINGS

- 1 AFTER Mahādāthika's death ĀMAṆḌAGĀMAṆI ABHAYA, his son, reigned nine years and eight months. On the splendid
- 2 Great Thūpa he caused to be made a parasol above the parasol,¹ and he built even there a vedī at the base and at the top.
- 3 And in like manner he made an inner courtyard and an inner verandah² to the Lobapāsāda and to the (building) called the
- 4 Uposatha (house) of the Thūpārāma. Moreover, for both he built a beautiful pavilion adorned with precious stones; and
- 5 the ruler of men also built the Rajatalena-vihāra.³ When he had made the Mahāgāmaṇḍi-tank on the south side (of Anurādhapura), he, who was clever in works of merit, bestowed it
- 6 on the Dakkhiṇa-vihāra.⁴ On the whole island the ruler of men commanded not to kill. All kinds of vine-fruits did he
- 7 plant in divers places, and the king Āmaṇḍiya, filling the almsbowls with the fruit called 'flesh-melons',⁵ and bestowing
- 8 garments as a support (for the bowls) he gave of these, with believing heart, to the whole brotherhood; because he had

¹ I.e. he heightened the cone crowning the thūpa at the top.

² For Ājira cf. Abhidhānappadīpikā 218 (ājira=Skt. ajira 'courtyard'). Ālinda is the terrace before the house-door, as is evident from D. I. 89^{ab}, ^{2a}. See also the passages M.V. VI. 36. 4, and C.V. VI. 3. 5 and 14. 1. (*Vin. Hy.*, ed. OLDENBERG, i. 248², ii. 153², 169^{2b}.)

³ Now Rādi-vihāra, see note to 28. 20.

⁴ Cf. note to 33. 88. The Mahāgāmaṇḍi-vāpi will probably be the smaller tank which is in the immediate neighbourhood of the ruins of the monastery. Note the play on the words puñṇadakkhiṇo and dakkhiṇaṇṇa vihāraṇṇa.

⁵ Kumbhaṇḍaka is, according to Abhidh. 1030, a creeping-plant which (according to SUBHŪṬI) is now called in Sinh. puhul 'pumpkin gourd'. Evidently māṇsak⁶ is a particular variety. Since our text connects the king's name with it, āmaṇḍa, which elsewhere means the ricinus plant, seems to be a synonym of the above-mentioned.

filled the almsbowls (with them) he received the name Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi.

His younger brother, the prince KAṆIRAJĀNUTISSA, reigned 9 three years in the city, when he had slain his brother. He 10 decided the lawsuit concerning the uposatha-house in the (vihāra) named after the cetiya,¹ but sixty bhikkhus who were involved in the crime of high treason did the king order to be 11 taken captive, with all that was theirs,² upon the Cetiya-pabbata, and he commanded these evildoers to be flung into the caves called Kapira.

After Kapirajānu's death Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi's son, the prince 12 CŪLĀBHAYA, reigned a year. The king built the Cūlagallaka- 13 vihāra on the bank of the Goṇaka-river³ to the south of the capital.

After the death of Cūlābhaya his younger sister SĪVALĪ, 14 the daughter of Āmaṇḍa, reigned four months. But Āmaṇḍa's 15 nephew named ILANĀGA dethroned Sīvalī and raised the parasol (of sovereignty) in the capital. When, one day, in the 16 first year (of his reign), the king went to the Tissa-tank, many of the Lambakāṇṇas⁴ deserted him and went back to the capital. When the king saw them not he was wroth and (in punishment) 17 he ordered that they, even they themselves, should make a road to the Mahāthūpa, commanding to stamp it down firmly, where it ran beside the tank, and he set caṇḍālas 18 to be their overseers. And full of anger because of this the Lambakāṇṇas came together, and when they had taken the 19 king captive and imprisoned him in his palace they themselves administered the government; but the king's consort put festal garments on her little son the prince Candamukhasiva, 20 gave him into the hands of the serving-women and sent him to the state-elephant, charging (the attendants) with a message. 21

¹ Judging from the expression used (cf. 24. 39) the Thūpārāma must be meant. Cetiya = thūpa.

² See note to 23. 11.

³ This is, no doubt, the correct reading. The Goṇa-nadī is the river now called Kaḷu-oya. By banking it up king Dhātusena constructed the Kāla-vāpi (Kaḷuvawa), Cūlavamsa 38. 42.

⁴ An important clan in Laṅkā.

The serving-women conveyed him thither and gave the state-
 22 elephant the queen's whole message: 'This is thy lord's son;
 thy lord is in prison; better is it for this (boy) to meet his
 23 death by thee than by the enemies; then slay thou him: that
 is the queen's command.' With these words they laid him
 24 down at the elephant's feet. And for grief the elephant
 began to shed tears, and breaking to pieces the posts (to
 which he was chained) he pressed forward into the palace and
 25 dashed against the gate with fury, and when he had broken
 down the door¹ in the room where the king sat, he made him
 26 mount upon his back and went towards Mahātitttha. There the
 elephant made the king embark on a ship (that brought him)
 to the western shore of the sea; he himself went toward Malaya.
 27 When the king had stayed three years on the other coast he
 28 raised an army and went by ship to Rohana. Having landed
 at the haven Sakkharasobbha the king assembled there in
 29 Rohana a mighty force. Then came the king's state-elephant
 forthwith out of the southern Malaya to Rohana to do him
 30 service. As he had heard there the Kapi-jātaka² from the
 great therā, the preacher of jātakas, named Mahāpaduma, who
 31 dwelt in the (vihāra) called Tuḷadhāra, he, being won to faith
 in the Bodhisatta, restored the Nāgamahāvihāra and gave it
 32 the extension of a hundred unbent bows in length,³ and he
 enlarged the thūpa even to what it has been (since then);
 moreover, he made the Tissa-tank⁴ and the tank called Dūra.⁵
 33 When the king had raised an army he marched to battle;
 when the Lambakannas heard this they also prepared them-
 34 selves for battle. Near the gate of Kapallakkhaṇḍa on the

¹ While *dvāra* means the principal gate of a building, *kavāṭṭāni* are the doors of the separate rooms in the interior. See *S.B.E.* xi, p. 160, n. 3.

² Two jātakas bear this title, in FAUSBÖLL's edition, ii, pp. 268-270 and iii, pp. 355-358.

³ *Dhanu* is a measure of length equal to about 8 feet. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 274.

⁴ In the neighbourhood of Mahūgāma, PARKER, *l. l.*, p. 388 foll.

⁵ Probably the *Dūratissa-vāpi*, to which *Saddhātissa*, according to Mah. 33. 8, built a monastery. *Kāresi* here means, I presume, 'to restore' not 'to build'.

field of Haṅkārapitṭhi was waged the battle between the two (armies) that brought destruction to both.

Since their bodies were exhausted by the sea-journey, the 35 king's men yielded their ground, therefore the king proclaimed his name and pressed forward. Terrified thereat 36 the Lambakannas threw themselves down upon their belly, and they hewed off their heads and heaped them up high as the nave of the (king's) waggon-wheel, and when this had 37 come to pass three times the king, from pity, said: 'Slay them not, but take them captive living.'

When then the king had come into the capital as victor in 38 battle and had raised the parasol (of sovereignty) he went to a festival at the Tissa-tank.¹ And when he, fully arrayed in 39 his ornaments and armour, had withdrawn from the water-sports and reflected on the good-fortune that he had attained, and thought of the Lambakannas who had opposed his progress, 40 he was wroth and commanded that they be yoked two and two behind one another to his car, and thus did he enter the city in front of them. Halting on the threshold of the 41 palace the king gave the command: 'Here on this threshold, soldiers, strike off their heads.' 'These are but oxen yoked to 42 thy chariot, O lord of chariots; therefore let their horns and hoofs be struck off,' thus admonished by his mother the 43 king recalled (the order) to behead them and commanded that their nose and toes be cut off. The district where the elephant 44 had stayed the prince allotted to the elephant; and therefore the tract is called Hatthibhoga.²

So Iṇāga, ruler of the earth, reigned full six years as king 45 in Anurādhapura.

After the death of Iṇāga his son CANDAMUKHA SIVA 46 reigned eight years and seven months as king.

When the lord of the earth had constructed a tank near 47 Maṇikāragāmaka he gave it to the vihāra called Issara-samāna. This king's consort who was known by the name 48 Damiḍadevi, allotted her own revenues from that village to the same vihāra.

¹ Cf. with this 26. 6-7.

² I.e. 'the elephant's usufruct, the elephant's field.'

- 49 Having slain Candamukha Siva in the festival-sports at
the Tissa-tank his younger brother, known by the name
50 YASALĀLAKATISSA, reigned as king in delightful Anurādhapura,
the fair face of Lankā, seven years and eight months.
- 51 Now a son of Datta the gate-watchman, named Subha,
who was himself a gate-watchman, bore a close likeness to
52 the king. And this palace-guard Subha did the king Yasalā-
laka, in jest, bedeck with the royal ornaments and place upon
53 the throne and binding the guard's turban about his own head,
and taking himself his place, staff in hand, at the gate,
54 he made merry over the ministers as they paid homage to
(Subha) sitting on the throne. Thus was he wont to do,
from time to time.
- 55 Now one day the guard cried out to the king, who was
laughing: 'Why does this guard laugh in my presence?'
- 56 And SUBHA the guard ordered to slay the king, and he him-
self reigned here six years under the name Subharāja.
- 57 In both the great vihāras¹ Subharāja built a noble row of
58 cells called Subharāja after him. Near Uruvelā (he built)
the Valli-vihāra, to the east the (vihāra) Ekadvāra and at the
mouth of the Gaṅgā² the (vihāra) Nandigāma.
- 59 One sprung of the Lambakanna (clan), named Vasabha,
whose home was in the northern province, served under his
60 uncle, a commander of troops. Since it was declared:³ 'One
named Vasabha shall be king,' the king at that time com-
manded that all in the island who bore the name of Vasabha
61 should be slain. The commander, thinking: 'We must
deliver up our Vasabha to the king,' and having taken
counsel with his wife (upon the matter) set out early in the
62 morning to go to the king's residence. And the wife, to
guard Vasabha carefully who went with him, put betel into
his hand but without powdered chalk.⁴

¹ According to the *Ṭikā* Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra.

² Gangante, by Gaṅgā we should probably understand the Mahaweliganga. The *Ṭikā* has *Kacchakanadittire*. Kacchaka is the name of a ford in the Mahaweliganga (see note to 10. 58).

³ According to the *Ṭikā* Yasalālaka was said to have uttered a similar prophecy publicly.

⁴ Betel is chewed with powdered chalk (cunṇa, Sinh. huṇṇa).

Now when the commander, at the gate of the palace, saw 63
the betel without chalk, he sent him back for chalk. When 64
Vasabha came for the chalk the commander's wife spoke with
him secretly, gave him a thousand (pieces of money) and aided
him to take flight. Vasabha went to the Mahāvihāra and by 65
the theras there was provided with milk, food and clothes, and 66
when he had again heard from a leper the certain prophecy
that he would be king, rejoicing he resolved: 'I will be a
rebel.' And when he had found men suited (to his purpose) 67
he went, seizing in his further course village by village,
according to the instruction (in the story) of the cake,¹ to
Rohana, and gradually winning the kingdom to himself he 68
advanced, after two years, with the needful army and train,
towards the capital. When the mighty VASABHA had con- 69
quered Subharaṣa in battle he raised the parasol (of sovereignty)
in the capital. His uncle had fallen in battle. But his 70
uncle's wife, named Potthā, who had first helped him, did
king Vasabha raise to be queen.

Once he questioned a soothsayer concerning the length of 71
his life, and he told him secretly (that he should live) just
twelve years. And when he had given him a thousand 72
(pieces of money) to keep the secret the king assembled the
brotherhood and greeted them reverently and asked them:
'Is there perchance, venerable sirs, a means to lengthen life?' 73
'There is,' so did the brotherhood teach him, 'a way to do
away with the hindrances (to long life); gifts of strainers² 74
must be given and gifts of dwellings and gifts for main-
tenance of the sick, O ruler of men, and in like manner the 75
restoring of ruined buildings must be carried out; one should
take the five precepts on himself and keep them carefully,

¹ The story of Candagutta and the kapallapāya is to be found in Mah. Jīk., p. 123¹ foll.: cf. GEIGER, *Dip. and Mah.*, pp. 39-40; RHYA DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 269; JACOBI, *Hemacandra's Parīkṣa-parvan*, viii. 290-296; preface, p. 58.

² The parissāvana is among the requisites of the bhikkhu: its use is for straining water so that he who is drinking shall not swallow some living creature who may perhaps be in it.

76 and one should also keep the solemn fast on the uposatha-day.' The king said: 'It is well,' and went thence and carried out all these (duties).

77 Every three years that went by the king bestowed the
78 three garments on the whole brotherhood in the island; and to those theras that lived far away he sent them. In thirty-two places he ordered milk-rice with honey to be distributed,
79 but in sixty-four places a lavish gift of mixed alms.

He had a thousand lamps lighted in four places; that is,
80 on the Cetiya-pabbata, about the cetiya in the Thūpārāma, about the Great Thūpa and in the temple of the great Bodhi-tree.

81 In the Cittalakūṭa (vihāra)¹ he built ten beautiful thūpas
82 and over the whole island he restored ruined buildings. From pious trust in a therā in the Valliyera-vihāra he built the vihāra
83 called Mahāvalligotta. And (moreover) he built the Anurā-
sāma (vihāra) near Mahāgāma and bestowed on it a thousand
84 and eight karisa² (of land) of (the village) Heḷigāma. When he had built the Mucela-vihāra³ in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka⁴ he allotted to the vihāra a share in the water of the (canal) Ālāsāra.
85 To the thūpa in Galambatīṭṭha he added a mantling of bricks, and he built an uposatha-house too, and to provide oil for
86 the lamps he constructed a pond (yielding water to) a thousand karisa (of land)⁵ and gave it to the (vihāra). In the Kumbhi-
87 gallaka-vihāra he built an uposatha-house. In like manner the king built an uposatha-house in the Issarasamānaka
88 (vihāra)⁶ here and in the Thūpārāma a thūpa-temple. In the Mahāvihāra he built a row of cells facing the west, and
89 he restored the ruined Catussūlā (hall). In like manner the same king made four beautiful Buddha-images and a temple for the images in the fair courtyard of the great Bodhi-tree.
90 The king's consort, named Potthā, built in that same

¹ The same as Cittalapabbata, see note to 22. 23.

² Tikā: aṭṭhattaraṃ karissasahasakam.

³ According to the Tikā situated puratthimadisūbhāge.

⁴ Cf. 37. 48.

⁵ In TURNOUR'S view sahasakakarisa is the name of the pond.

⁶ Cf. note to 19. 61.

place a splendid thūpa and a beautiful temple for the thūpa. When the king had completed the thūpa-temple in the 91 Thūpārāma he commanded lavish almsgiving for the festival of its completion. Among those bhikkhus who were busied 92 with (the learning of) the word of the Buddha he distributed the things needed (by bhikkhus), and among the bhikkhus who explained the doctrine butter and sugar-molasses. At 93 the four gates of the city he had food given away to the poor and, to such bhikkhus who were sick, food suited to the sick. The Cayantī¹ and the Rājuppala-tank, the Vaba and the 94 Kolambagāmaka, the Mahānīkkaḥavattī-tank and the Mahārāmetti, the Kohāla² and the Kālī-tank,³ the Cambuṭi, the 95 Cāthamaṅgaṇa and the Aggivaḍḍhamānaka:⁴ these twelve tanks and twelve canals he constructed, to make (the land) 96 fruitful. For safety he built up the city wall even so high (as it now is)⁵ and he built fortress-towers at the four gates 97 and a palace besides; in the garden he made a tank and put geese therein.⁶

When the king had constructed many bathing-tanks here 98 and there in the capital he brought water to them by subterranean canals. And in this way carrying out various works 99 of merit king Vasabha did away with the hindrances (to long life), and delighting perpetually in well doing he reigned 100 forty-four years in the capital. He appointed also forty-four Vesākha-festivals.⁷

Subharāja while he yet lived had anxiously, for fear of 101 Vasabha, entrusted his daughter to a brick-worker and had 102

¹ The names are extraordinarily erratic in the MSS. This adds greatly to the difficulty of identifying the separate tanks.

² The Tīkā has Kebāla and places the tank near Tīthapattana.

³ The Tīkā reads Keḷivāṣaṃ ca instead of Kālīvāpīṃ ca.

⁴ See WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 211.

⁵ The Tīkā gives the height of 18 cubits (atthārasaḥatthappa-māṇaṃ) = about 25-27 feet.

⁶ I do not believe that we need have recourse to the translation 'swan' or 'flamingo'. The goose is a sacred bird to the Buddhists and appears frequently on the monuments of Ceylon.

⁷ See I. 12 and 32. 35 with note.

at the same time given into his care his mantle and the royal insignia. When he was killed by Vasabha the brick-worker
 103 took her with him, put her in the place of a daughter, and brought her up in his own house. When he was at work the girl used to bring him his food.

104 When (one day) in a thicket of flowering kadambas, she saw an (ascetic) who was in the seventh day of the state of
 105 nirodha,¹ she the wise (maiden) gave him the food. When she had then prepared food afresh she carried the food to her father, and when she was asked the cause of the delay she
 106 told her father this matter. And full of joy he bade (her) offer food repeatedly to the therā. When the therā had come out (of his trance) he said to the maiden, looking into
 107 the future: 'When royal rank has fallen to thy lot then bethink thee, O maiden, of this place.' And forthwith the therā died.

108 Now did king Vasabha when his son Vaṅkanāsikatissa had
 109 come to (full) age seek a fitting wife for him. When those people who understood the (auspicious) signs in women saw
 110 the maiden in the brick-worker's village they told the king; the king thereon was about to send for her. And now the
 111 brick-worker told him that she was a king's daughter, but that she was the daughter of Subhārāja he showed by the mantle and so forth. Rejoiced the king gave her (in marriage) to his son when all had been duly provided.²

112 After Vasabha's death his son VAṅKANĀSIKATISSAKA reigned
 113 three years in Anurādhapura. On the bank of the Gaṇḍarī river the king Vaṅkanāsikatissaka built the vihāra called
 114 Mahāmaṅgala. But his consort Mahāmattā collected money to build a vihāra, bethinking her of the therā's words.

115 After Vaṅkanāsikatissa's death his son GAJABĀHUKAGĀMAṆI

¹ Nirodha or samāavedayātanirodha is a state of trance, cessation of consciousness. KERN, *Manual*, pp. 55, 57. If the state lasts over seven days it ends in death.

² Skt. kṛtamaṅgala (f. ā) means a person over whom prayers have been pronounced or who is arrayed with the auspicious things for some undertaking. B.R., *Skt. Wtb.*, s.v. maṅgala. The pāli katamaṅgala must be taken in the same sense.

reigned twenty-two years. Harkening to his mother's word 116
 the king founded the Mātuvihāra on the place of the thicket
 of flowering kadambas, in honour of his mother. His wise 117
 mother gave to the great vihāra a hundred thousand (pieces
 of money) for the plot of land and built the vihāra;¹ he 118
 himself built a thūpa of stone there and gave (land) for the
 use of the brotherhood, when he had bought it from various
 owners.

He erected the great Abhayuttara-thūpa, making it greater, 119
 and to the four gates thereof he made vestibules. When the 120
 king had made the Gāmanitissa-tank he bestowed it on the
 Abhayagiri-vihāra for maintenance in food. He made a mant- 121
 ling to the Maricavatti-thūpa and gave (land) thereto for
 the use of the brotherhood, having bought it for a hundred
 thousand (pieces of money). In the last year he founded the 122
 vihāra called Rāmuka and built in the city the Mahejāsana-
 sālā (hall).

After Gajabāhu's death the king's father-in-law MAHAL- 123
 LAKA NĀGA reigned six years. (The vihāras) Sejalaka in 124
 the east, Goṭapabbata in the south, Dakapāsāpa in the west,
 in Nāgadīpa Sālipabbata, in Bījagāma Tanaveli, in the 125
 country of Rohaṇa Tobbalanāgapabbata, in the inland country
 Giriḥālika: these seven vihāras did the king Mahallanāga, 126
 ruler of the earth, build in the time (of his reign), short
 though it was.

In this way do the wise, doing many works of merit, gain 127
 with worthless riches that which is precious, but fools in
 their blindness, for the sake of pleasures, do much evil.

Here ends the thirty-fifth chapter, called 'The Twelve
 Kings', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and
 emotion of the pious.

¹ The meaning plainly is that the mother and son jointly founded the vihāra. In 116 it is said, in a general way, that the king together with his mother, founded the Mātuvihāra. How the undertaking was shared is explained in 117 and 118. The mother buys the plot of land and constructs the monastery buildings; the son builds the thūpa and presents the necessary lands for the maintenance of the inmates of the monastery.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE THIRTEEN KINGS

- 1 AFTER the death of Mahallanāga his son BHĀTIKATISSAKA
2 reigned twenty-four years in Laṅkā. He built a wall around
3 the Mahāvihāra. When the king had built the Gavaratissa-
4 vihāra he made the Mahāmaṇi-tank and gave it to the vihāra.
5 Moreover, he built the vihāra called Bhātikatissa. He built
6 an uposatha-house in the beautiful Thūpārāma; the king
7 also made the Randhakaṇḍaka-tank. Filled with tenderness
8 towards beings and zealous in reverencing the brotherhood
9 the protector of the earth commanded lavish almsgiving to
10 the community of both sexes.
- 11 After the death of Bhātikatissa (his younger brother)
12 KANITTHATISSAKA¹ reigned eighteen years in the island of
13 Laṅkā. Since he was well pleased with the thera Mahānāga
14 in the Bhūtarāma he built for him in splendid fashion the
15 Ratanapāsāda in the Abhayagiri. Moreover, he built in the
16 Abhayagiri a wall and a great pariveṇa and a great pariveṇa
17 besides in the (vihāra) called Maṇisoma.² In that place he
18 built a temple for the cetiya and in like manner for the
19 Ambatthala-thūpa; and (he ordered) the restoration of the
20 temple in Nāgadiḷpa. Doing away with the boundary of the
21 Mahāvihāra, the king built there the row of cells (called)
22 Kukkuṭagiri with all things provided. In the Mahāvihāra
23 the ruler of men built twelve great four-sided pāsādas,
24 admirable to see and beautiful, and he added a mantling to
25 the thūpa of the Dakkhiṇavihāra, and a refectory besides,
26 doing away with the boundary of the Mahāmeghavāna. And
27 moving the wall of the Mahāvihāra to the side, he also made
28 a road leading to the Dakkhiṇavihāra. He built the Bhūta-

¹ The name means 'the younger brother Tissa'.

² Cf. note to 33. 84.

rāmavihāra and the Rāmagopaka, and the ārāma of Nandatissa besides.

In the east the king built the Anulatissapabbata (vihāra) 15 in Gaṅgarūjī, the Niyelatissārāma and the Pīlapitthivihāra as well as the Rājamahāvihāra. In like manner he built in 16 three places an uposatha-house, in the three following vihāras, 17 the Kalyāṇikavihāra,¹ the Maṇḍalagirikā, also the (vihāra) called Dubbalavāpitiṣṣa.

After Kanitthātissa's death his son, who was known as 18 KHUJANĀGA, reigned one year. The younger brother of 19 Khujjanāga KUÑCANĀGA, when he had slain the king his brother, reigned two years in Laṅkā. During the great 20 Ekanāḷikā² famine the king maintained without interruption a great almsgiving³ appointed for five hundred bhikkhus.

But the brother of Kuñcanāga's consort, the commander of 21 troops, SIRINĀGA, became a rebel against the king, and when 22 he was equipped with troops and horses he moved on to the capital and when he, in battle with the king's army, had put 23 king Kuñcanāga to flight, victorious he reigned over Laṅkā nineteen years in splendid Anurādhapura. When the king had 24 placed a parasol on the stately Great Thūpa, he had it gilded in admirable and splendid fashion. He built the Lohapāsāda, 25 keeping it within five stories (height), and he restored the steps to the four entrances leading to the great Bodhi-tree. When 26 he had completed the parasol and the pāsāda⁴ he commanded offerings at the festival (of the consecration); great in compassion, he remitted the tribute of families⁵ throughout the island.

¹ Cf. 32. 51 and note to 1. 63.

² Nālī is a certain measure = 4 pasāta 'handfuls'. RHYE DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 17. To so small a quantity of food were the people reduced in that famine. Thence the designation.

³ Mahāpeḷḷā, lit. 'great basket,' in contrast to ekanāḷikā.

⁴ The reading is, I think, chattapāsādam. Still Chattapāsāda may also be understood as the name of a building. Thus TURNOUR, WILSTYHA and my edition.

⁵ Kulambaya is obscure. Perhaps it means a certain tribute in kind (ambaya is a measure of capacity, used as a cor-measure), which was levied from single families (kula).

27 After the death of Sirināga his son Tissa reigned twenty-
 two years, with knowledge of (the) law and (the) tradition.
 28 Because he first in this country made a law that set aside
 (bodily) injury (as penalty) he received the name king Vohārika-
 29 tissa. When he had heard the (preaching of the) doctrine by
 the therā Deva, who dwelt in Kappukagāma, he restored five
 30 buildings. Moreover, contented with the therā Mahātissa, who
 dwelt in Anurārāma,¹ he commanded almsgiving in Mucela-
 31 paṭṭana.² When the king Tissa³ had set up a pavilion in the
 two great vihāras⁴ and in the eastern temple of the great
 32 Bodhi-tree two bronze images, and had built also the Satta-
 pannakapāsāda, goodly to dwell in, he appointed every month
 33 a thousand (pieces of money)⁵ for the Mahāvihāra. In the
 Abhayagiri-vihāra and in the (vihāra) called Dakkhinamūla,
 in the Maricavāṭṭi-vihāra and the (vihāra) called Kulālitissa,
 34 in the Mahiyanāga-vihāra, in the (vihāra) called Mahāgā-
 manāga, in the (vihāras) called Mahānāgatissa, and Kalyāṇika
 35 he put parasols to their eight thūpas. In the Mūlanāgasenā-
 36 pati-vihāra and in the Dakkhinā(vihāra), in the Maricavāṭṭi-
 vihāra and in the (vihāra) called Pabbatbhāga, in the (vihāra)
 called Issarasamāṇa and the (vihāra) named Tissa in Nāga-
 37 dipaka; in these six vihāras he put up a wall, and he also
 built an uposatha-house in the (vihāra) called Anurārāma.
 38 For the occasions when the Ariyavaṃsa⁶ was read he decreed
 over the whole island a regular giving of alms, from reverence
 39 for the true doctrine. With the spending of three hundred

¹ According to 35. 83 near Mahāgāma in the province of Rohaṇa.

² According to the *Tikā* mucelapaṭṭana is the name of a 'ship' made of bronze in which offerings were placed. Such 'canoes' but of stone, which evidently served the same purpose, are, in fact, found in the ruins of Anurādhapura. (BURNOWS, *Buried Cities of Ceylon*, pp. 38, 43-44.)

³ Following the reading Tissarājā maṇḍapaṃ. If we read Tissarājamandapaṃ we must translate 'a pavilion (called) Tissarāja (after him)'.

⁴ I.e. the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri-vihāra.

⁵ According to the *Tikā*, articles of clothing.

⁶ Lit. 'book of the holy ones,' probably the life-histories of men eminent in the Buddhist Church, which were read aloud publicly for the edification of the people.

thousand (pieces of money) this king, who was a friend to the doctrine, freed from their indebtedness such bhikkhus as were in debt. When he had decreed a great Vesākha-festival,¹ 40 he bestowed the three garments on all the bhikkhus dwelling in the island. Suppressing the Vetulya-doctrine² and keeping 41 heretics in check by his minister Kapila, he made the true doctrine to shine forth in glory.

This king's younger brother, known as ABHAYANĀGA, who 42 was the queen's lover, being discovered (in his guilt) took flight for fear of his brother and went with his serving-men 43 to Bhallatittha and as if wroth with him, he had his uncle's hands and feet cut off. And that he might bring about 44 division in the kingdom, he left him behind here and took his most faithful followers with him, showing them the example of the dog,³ and he himself took ship at the same place and 45 went to the other shore. But the uncle, Subhadeva, went to the king and making as if he were his friend he wrought 46 division in the kingdom. And that he might have knowledge of this, Abhaya sent a messenger thither. When Subhadeva 47 saw him he loosened (the earth) round about an areca-palm, with the shaft of his spear, as he walked round (the tree), and when he had made it thus (to hold) but feebly by the roots, he struck it down with his arm; then did he threaten the 48 (messenger), and drove him forth. The messenger went and told this matter to Abhaya. And when he knew this, Abhaya 49 took many Damiḥas with him and marched from there against the city to do battle with his brother. On news of this the king 50

¹ See note to 32. 35.

² Cf. the Vaipulya-sūtras, sometimes also called Vaitulya-sūtras, which form part of the Northern Mahāyānist Canon. KERN, *Manual*, p. 5; idem, *Verlagten en Mededeelingen van de K. Ak. van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterk., 4^e R., D. VIII, p. 312 foll., Amsterdam, 1907 (see L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *J.E.A.S.* 1907, p. 432 foll.; WINDISCH, *Abh. d. k. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. W.*, xxvii, p. 472; OLDENBERG, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii, 1910, p. 614).

³ According to the Tīkā, when he was about to embark on the ship, he had chided and punished a dog that he had with him. Nevertheless the animal followed him, wagging his tail. Then he said to his followers, 'Even as this dog, you must stand by me with unchangeable fidelity.'

- took flight, and, with his consort, mounting a horse he came to
 51 Malaya. The younger brother pursued him, and when he
 had slain the king in Malaya, he returned with the queen and
 reigned eight years in the capital as king.
- 52 The king set up a vedi of stone round about the great
 Bodhi-tree, and a pavilion in the courtyard of the Lohapā-
 53 sāda. And obtaining garments of every kind for twice a
 hundred thousand (pieces of money), he distributed gifts of
 clothing among the brotherhood of bhikkhus on the island.
- 54 After Abhaya's death, SIRINĀGA, the son of his brother
 55 Tissa, reigned two years in Laṅkā. When he had restored the
 wall round about the great Bodhi-tree, then did this king also
 56 build in the sand-court¹ of the temple of the great Bodhi-
 tree, to the south of the Mucela-tree,² the beautiful Ham-
 savatṭa and a great pavilion besides.
- 57 Sirināga's son named VIJAYA-KUMĀRAKA reigned for one
 year after his father's death.
- 58 (At that time) three Lambakannas lived in friendship at
 Mahiyangana: Samghatissa and Samghabodhi, the third
 59 being Gothakūliya. When they were coming (to Anurā-
 dhapura) to do service to the king, a blind man who had
 the gift of prophecy, being by the edge of the Tissa-tank,
 60 cried out at the sound of their footsteps: 'The ground bears
 here three rulers of the earth!' As Abhaya, who was walking
 last, heard this he asked (the meaning of the saying). The
 61 other uttered yet again (the prophecy). 'Whose race will
 endure?' then asked again the other, and he answered:
 'That of the last.' When he had heard that he went (on)
 62 with the two (others). When they were come into the capital
 the three, being the close and trusted (counsellors) of the
 king, remained in the royal service about the king.
- 63 When they together had slain king Vijaya in his royal
 palace the two (others) consecrated SAMGHATISSA, the com-
 64 mander of the troops, as king. Thus crowned did Samgha-

¹ Valikātala is employed here in the same way as vāli-
 kaṅga in 32. 31.

² Parato is paraphrased in the *Tikā* by dakkhiṇadi-ābhāge.
 cf. Mah. 25. 50.

tissa reign four years in stately Anurādhapura. He set up 65 a parasol on the Great Thūpa and gilded it, and moreover the king put four great gems, each worth a hundred thousand (pieces of money), in the middle of the four suns,¹ and put 66 upon the spire of the thūpa a precious ring of crystal. At 67 the festival of (consecrating) the chatta the ruler of men distributed the six garments to the brotherhood (in number) forty thousand. As he (one day) when listening to the khandhakas² 68 heard from the thera Mahādeva, dwelling in Dāmāhāḷaka, the sutta that sets forth the merit of (a gift of) rice-gruel,³ 69 he, joyfully believing, distributed to the brotherhood at the four gates of the city an abundant and well-prepared gift of rice-gruel.

From time to time the king, with the women of the royal 70 household and the ministers, used to go to Pācinadīpaka⁴ to eat jambu-fruits. Vexed by his coming the people dwelling in 71 Pācinadīpa poisoned the fruit of the jambu-tree from which the king was to eat. When he had eaten the jambu-fruits he 72 died forthwith even there. And Abhaya consecrated as king Saṃghabodhi who was charged with the (command of) the army.

The king, who was known by the name SĪRISAMGHABODHI, 73 reigned two years in Anurādhapura, keeping the five precepts.⁵

In the Mahāvihāra he set up a beautiful salākā-house.⁶ 74 When the king heard that the people of the island were come to want by reason of a drought he himself, his heart 75 shaken with pity, lay down on the ground in the courtyard of the Great Thūpa, forming the resolve: 'Unless I be raised 76

¹ Which were placed on the four sides of the 'Tee'.

² The sections of the M.V. and C.V. in the Vinaya-piṭaka.

³ See M.V. VI. 24. Cf. particularly 5 and 6. The scene of the exhortation is Andhakavinda.

⁴ I.e. 'East-Island.' The Tika says: Mahātittthapattāne parato samuddamajjhe sambhūtaṃ Pācinadīpaṃ agamāsi. According to this Pācinadīpa is one of the islands between the north point of Ceylon and the Indian continent.

⁵ See note to I. 62.

⁶ On salākagṛa see note to 15. 205.

up by the water that the god shall rain down I will nevermore
 77 rise up from hence, even though I die here.' As the ruler of
 the earth lay there thus the god poured down rain forthwith on
 78 the whole island of Laṅkā, reviving the wide earth. And even
 then he did not yet rise up because he was not swimming
 in the water. Then his counsellors closed up the pipes by
 79 which the water flowed away. And as he now swam in the
 water the pious king rose up. By his compassion did he in
 this way avert the fear of a famine in the island.

80 At the news: 'Rebels are risen here and there,' the king
 had the rebels brought before him, but he released them again
 81 secretly; then did he send secretly for bodies of dead men, and
 causing terror to the people by the burning¹ of these he did
 away with the fear from rebels.

82 A yakkha known as Ratakkhi,² who had come hither, made
 83 red the eyes of the people here and there. If the people did
 but see one another and did but speak of the redness of the
 eyes they died forthwith, and the yakkha devoured them
 without fear.

84 When the king heard of their distress he lay down with
 sorrowful heart alone in the chamber of fasting, keeping the
 85 eight uposatha vows,³ (and said): 'Till I have seen the
 yakkha I will not rise up.' By the (magic) power of his
 86 piety the yakkha came to him. To the king's (question):
 'Who art thou?' he answered: 'It is I, (the yakkha),' 'Why
 87 dost thou devour my subjects? Swallow them not!' 'Give
 up to me then only the people of one region,' said the other.
 And being answered: 'That is impossible,' he came gradually
 88 (demanding ever less and less) to one (man) only. The (king)
 spoke: 'No other can I give up to thee; take thou me and
 devour me.' With the words: 'That is impossible,' the other

¹ He had the corpses burnt in place of the rebels and thus inspired the belief that he had condemned them to death by fire. Cf. also *sūle uttāseti* 'to impale'. JAL. I. 500¹¹ and frequently.

² I.e. 'Red-eye.' Perhaps *scariatina*? The *Attanagaluvaṃsa* which relates this episode in chap. VI (ed. Alwis, p. 16 foll.), speaks of a fever (*jararoga*) beginning with inflammation of the eyes.

³ Cf. with this SPENCE HARDY, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 237.

prayed him (at last) to give him an offering in every village. 'It is well,' said the king, and over the whole island he decreed that offerings¹ be brought to the entrance of the villages, and these he gave up to him. Thus by the great man,² compassionate to all beings, by the torch of the island was the fear pestilence brought to an end.

The king's treasurer, the minister Gothakābhaya, who had become a rebel, marched from the north against the capital. Taking his water-strainer with him the king fled alone by the south gate, since he would not bring harm to others.

A man who came, bearing his food in a basket, along that road entreated the king again and again to eat of his food. When he, rich in compassion, had strained the water and had eaten he spoke these words, to show kindness to the other: 'I am the king Samghabodhi; take thou my head and show it to Gothābhaya, he will give thee much gold.' This he would not do, and the king to render him service gave up the ghost even as he sat. And the other took the head and showed it to Gothābhaya and he, in amazement of spirit, gave him gold and carried out the funeral rites of the king with due care.

Thus GOṬHĀBHAYA, also known as Meghavannābhaya, ruled thirteen years over Laṅkā.

He built a palace, and when he had built a pavilion at the entrance to the palace and had adorned it, even there did he daily invite a thousand and eight bhikkhus of the brotherhood to be seated, and rejoicing them with rice-gruel and with foods excellent and of many kinds, both hard and soft, together with garments, he bestowed alms lavishly upon them. Twenty-one days did he continue (to give) thus.

In the Mahāvihāra he built a splendid pavilion of stone; he renewed³ the pillars of the Lohapāsāda. He set up a vedi

¹ By bali are understood particularly the offerings brought to the subordinate divinities, devatās, tutelary gani, local sprites, &c.

² Mahāsatta is used elsewhere as designation of a Bodhisatta.

³ Lit. 'He set them up when he had changed them.' In Skt. parivartayati (B.R. s. v. vart with pari) has the same meaning.

of stone for the great Bodhi-tree and an arched gateway at the northern entrance, and likewise at the four corners (of the courtyard) pillars with wheel-symbols.¹

104 At three entrances he made three statues of stone and at
105 the south gate he set up a throne of stone. To the west
of the Mahāvihāra he laid out a tract of land for exercises
of meditation,² and over the island he restored all ruined
106 buildings. In the Thūpārāma he ordered the thūpa-temple to
be restored and also in the Ambatthala-monastery of the thera
107 (Mahinda);³ and in the ārāma called Maṇisoma, and in the
Thūpārāma, in the Maṇisomārāma and in the Maricavatti
(vihāra), and moreover in the vihāra called Dakkhina (he
108 restored) the uposatha-houses. And he founded also a new
vihāra called Meghavappābhaya and at the (time of) festal
109 offerings at the consecration of the vihāra he distributed the
six garments to thirty thousand bhikkhus dwelling on the
island, whom he had assembled.

In like manner he appointed then a great Vesākha-festival,⁴
110 and yearly did he distribute the six garments to the brother-
111 hood. Purifying the doctrine by suppression of heresy he
seized bhikkhus dwelling in the Abhayagiri (vihāra), sixty in
number, who had turned to the Vetulya-doctrine⁵ and were
112 like a thorn in the doctrine of the Buddha, and when he had
excommunicated them,⁶ he banished them to the further
coast. A bhikkhu from the Coḷa people, named Saṃghamitta,
113 who was versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of
spirits, and so forth, had attached himself⁷ to a thera banished

¹ See note to 30. 92.

² CHILDERS, *P.D.* s. v. *padhānam*, says: 'padhānabhūmi, a cloister in a monastery for monks to walk in who are striving to attain arhatship.'

³ The Therambatthalaka is without doubt the Ambatthala-thūpa built in memory of Mahinda on the Cetiya-mountain. See note to 34. 71.

⁴ Cf. note to 32. 35.

⁵ Cf. note to 35. 41.

⁶ *Katvāna niggahaṃ tesam*, lit. 'having suppressed them.' See *pāpakānam niggahena* in v. 110.

⁷ *Nissito*, the term for one who stands to an older monk in the relation of pupil to teacher (*nissaya*).

thither, and he came thither embittered against the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra.

When this lawless (bhikkhu) had thrust himself into an 114 assembly in the Thūpārāma and had refuted there the words of the thera living in the pariveṇa of Saṃghapāla, namely the 115 thera Goṭṭābhaya, uncle of the king on the mother's side, who had addressed the king with his (old) name, he became a 116 constant guest in the king's house.¹ The king who was well pleased with him entrusted his eldest son Jetṭhatissa and his younger son Mahāsena, to the bhikkhu. And he made the 117 second his favourite, therefore prince Jetṭhatissa bore ill-will to the bhikkhu.

After his father's death JETṬHATISSA became king. To 118 punish the hostile ministers who would not go in procession with him, at the performing of the king's funeral rites, the 119 king himself proceeded forth, and placing his younger brother at the head and then the body following close behind, and 120 then the ministers whilst he himself was at the end (of the procession), he, when his younger brother and the body were gone forth, had the gate closed immediately behind them, and 121 he commanded that the treasonous ministers be slain and (their bodies) impaled on stakes round about his father's pyre.

Because of this deed he came by the surname 'the Cruel', 122 But the bhikkhu Saṃghamitta, for fear of the king, went hence 123

¹ The passage is very obscure as the course of events in the Thūpārāma is too briefly described. I believe that we must supply the object *rājūnaṃ* to *rañño nāmenālapato*, and that we have to understand the passage in the following way. A solemn assembly of the brotherhood was held in the Thūpārāma to settle the dissensions between the various parties. The king himself was present. In this assembly Saṃghamitta exposed his heretical doctrine, speaking against the monks of the Mahāvihāra, and he succeeded in convincing the king. The thera Goṭṭābhaya, the king's uncle, after whom the king himself was named, tried to bring the king round to the orthodox party. But although he spoke urgently to him, even addressing him tenderly, not with his royal title *Meghavappaṇḍhaya*, but with his familiar name *Goṭṭābhaya* (*Ṭikā*: *tāta Goṭṭābhaya Goṭṭābhaya ti...*), he did not succeed, and Saṃghamitta even became the king's *kuḷūpaka*. On this see note to 30. 40.

at the time of his coronation, when he had taken counsel with Mahāsena, to the further coast awaiting the time of (Mahāsena's) consecrating.

- 124 He (Jetṭhatissa) built up to seven stories the splendid Lohapāsāda, that had been left unfinished¹ by his father, so
 125 that it was now worth a koṭi (pieces) of money. When he had offered there a jewel worth sixty thousand, Jetṭhatissa named it the Maṇipāsāda.
 126 He offered two precious gems to the Great Thūpa, and he built three gateways to the temple of the great Bodhi-tree.
 127 When he had built the vihāra Pācīnatissapabbata the ruler gave it to the brotherhood in the five settlements.
 128 The great and beautiful stone image that was placed of old
 129 by Devānappiyyatissa in the Thūpārāma did king Jetṭhatissa take away from the Thūpārāma, and set up in the ārāma
 130 Pācīnatissapabbata. He bestowed the Kālamattika-tank on the Cetiypabbata (vihāra), and when he celebrated the consecrating festival of the vihāra and the pāsāda and (held)
 131 a great Vesākha-ceremony he distributed the six garments among the brotherhood, in number thirty thousand. Jetṭha-
 132 tissa also made the Ālambagāma-tank. Accomplishing thus many works of merit, beginning with the building of the pāsāda, the king reigned ten years.
 133 Thus, reflecting that sovereignty, being the source of manifold works of merit, is at the same time the source of many an injustice, a man of pious heart will never enjoy it as if it were sweet food mixed with poison.

Here ends the thirty-sixth chapter, called 'The Thirteen Kings', in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Vippakata is used (e.g. D.I. 2⁵¹) of an interrupted discourse. Here we have the interrupting of building (cf. 36.102 ed.). The *Tikā* renders the word correctly *niṭṭhānam agatam apariniṭṭhāpitaṃ*.

CHAPTER XXXVII

KING MAHĀSENA¹

AFTER king Jetṭhatissa's death, his younger brother MAHĀ- 1
SENA ruled twenty-seven years as king. And to consecrate him 2
as king, the therā Saṅghamitta came thither from the further
coast, when he heard the time (of Jetṭhatissa's death).²
When he had carried out the consecration and the other 3
ceremonies of various kind, the lawless (bhikkhu) who would
fain bring about the destruction of the Mahāvihāra won the 4
king to himself with the words:—'The dwellers in the
Mahāvihāra do not teach the (true) vinaya, we are those who
teach the (true) vinaya, O king', and he established a royal 5
penalty: 'Whosoever gives food to a bhikkhu dwelling in
the Mahāvihāra is liable to a fine of a hundred (pieces of
money).'³

The bhikkhus dwelling in the Mahāvihāra, who thereby 6
fell into want, abandoned the Mahāvihāra, and went to
Malaya and Rohaṇa. Thus was our Mahāvihāra desolate for 7
nine years and empty of those bhikkhus who (else) had dwelt
in the Mahāvihāra. And the unwise therā persuaded the 8

¹ After verse 50 in chapter 37 the old Mahāvamsa breaks off. But the later author, who continued the work, carried on this chapter and added 198 verses, giving to the whole the subscription *Sattarājako* = 'the Seven Kings'. (However, there are in reality six:—Mahāsena, Kittisiri-Meghavamsa, Jetṭhatissa II, Buddhādāsa, Upatissa II, and Mahānāma.) Our section (verses 1-50) has thus no conclusion, neither the usual memorial verse, nor a subscription. The substance of the former ought to have corresponded to that of the closing verses of the *Dīp.*, but was clothed in a more artistic form. The writer who continued the *Mah.* put the last two verses of the *Dīp.* at the head of his own work and thus connected the new part of the poem with the old one. On the whole process, cf. GRIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, pp. 18-19.

² *Ṭikā*: *kālam* *ñatvā*, Jetṭhatissassa *matakālam* *jānitvā*.

- 9 unwise king :—' Ownerless land belongs to the king,'¹ and when he had gained leave from the king to destroy the Mahāvihāra, this (bhikkhu), in the enmity of his heart, set on people to do so.
- 10 An adherent of the therā Saṃghamitta, the ruthless minister Soṇa, a favourite servant of the king, and (with
11 him) shameless bhikkhus, destroyed the splendid Lohapāsāda seven stories high, and carried away the (material of the)
12 various buildings from hence to the Abhayagiri (vihāra), and by means of the many buildings² that were borne away from the Mahāvihāra the Abhayagiri-vihāra became rich in build-
13 ings. Holding fast to his evil friend, the therā Saṃghamitta, and to his servant Soṇa, the king wrought many a deed of wrong.
- 14 The king sent for the great stone image from the Pācīnatissapabbata (vihāra) and set it up in the Abhayagiri (vihāra).
- 15 He set up a building for the image, a temple for the Bodhi-tree, a beautiful relic-hall and a four-sided hall,³ and he
16 restored the (pariveṇa) called Kukkuṭa.⁴ Then by the ruthless therā Saṃghamitta was the Abhayagiri-vihāra made stately to see.
- 17 The minister named Meghavannābhaya, the friend of the king, who was busied with all his affairs, was wroth with him
18 for destroying the Mahāvihāra; he became a rebel, and when he had gone to Malaya and had raised a great force, he pitched a camp by the Dūratissaka-tank.⁵
- 19 When the king heard that his friend was come thither, he

¹ A play on the words *assāmiko* and *pathavīśāmi* 'owner (ruler) of the earth'.

² *Pāsāda* means here, in quite a general sense, the habitations of the bhikkhus in the Mahāvihāra, which were demolished here and the material of which was conveyed to the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

³ *Catu(s)āśīṣa*. A certain building of this name in Anurādhapura is mentioned, *Mah.* 15. 47, 50; and 35. 88. In our passage the word is evidently an *appellativum*.

⁴ By this is probably meant the Kukkuṭagiri-pariveṇa erected by Kaniṭṭhatissa. See 36. 10.

⁵ See note to 33. 9. Meghavannābhaya evidently marches from the central mountain-district of Malaya to secure the province of Rohana.

marched forth to do battle with him, and he also pitched a camp.

The other had good drink and meat, that he had brought 20 with him from Malaya and thinking: 'I will not enjoy it without my friend the king,' he took some, and he himself 21 went forth alone by night, and coming to the king he told him this thing. When the king had eaten with him, in perfect 22 trust, that which he had brought, he asked him: 'Why hast thou become a rebel?' 'Because the Mahāvihāra has been 23 destroyed by thee' he answered. 'I will make the vihāra to be dwelt in yet again; forgive me my fault,' thus spoke 24 the king, and the other was reconciled with the king. Following his counsel the king returned to the capital. But 25 Meghavappābhaya, who persuaded the king (that it was fitting to do this), did not go with the king that he might collect in the meantime the wherewithal to build.

One of the king's wives, who was exceedingly dear to him, 26 the daughter of a scribe, grieved over the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, and when she, in bitterness of heart, had won over 27 a labourer to kill the therā who had destroyed it, she caused the violent therā Saṃghamitta to be done to death as he came to 28 the Thūpārāma to destroy it. And they slew likewise the violent and lawless minister Sopā. But when Meghavappā- 29 bhaya had brought the building-materials (that he had collected), he built several pariveṇas in the Mahāvihāra. When 30 this fear had (thus) been calmed by Abhaya the bhikkhus coming from here and there again inhabited the Mahāvihāra. But the king made two bronze images and set them up on 31 the west side of the temple of the great Bodhi-tree.

Being well-pleased with the hypocrite, the plotter, the 32 lawless therā Tissa, his evil friend, who dwelt in the Dakkhinārāma, he, although he was warned, built within the 33 boundaries of the Mahāvihāra, in the garden called Joti, the Jetavana-vihāra.¹ Then he called upon the brotherhood 34

¹ According to 15. 202, Jotivana is a name for the Nandana park which, according to 15. 1, 7-8, was situated immediately before the south gate of Anurādhapura. From this and from our passage it appears quite certain that the Jetavana-vihāra must be the monastery

- of monks to do away with their boundaries, and since the bhikkhus would not do this, they abandoned the vihāra.
- 35 But now, to make the shifting of the boundary void of effect, if others should seek to do this, certain bhikkhus hid themselves in various places.¹
- 36 Thus was the Mahāvihāra abandoned for nine months by the bhikkhus, and the other bhikkhus thought: 'We will
- 37 begin to shift (the boundaries).' Then, when this attempt to shift the boundary was given up,² the bhikkhus
- 38 came back hither and dwelt again in the Mahāvihāra. But within the brotherhood of bhikkhus a complaint touching an offence of the gravest kind³ was raised against the therā
- 39 Tissa, who had received the (Jetavana) vihāra. The high minister, known to be just, who decided (the matter) excluded him, according to right and law, from the order, albeit against the king's wishes.
- 40 The king built also the Maṇihīra-vihāra⁴ and founded three
- 41 vihāras, destroying temples of the (brahmanical) gods:—the Gokappa (vihāra), (and another vihāra) in Erakavilla, (and a third) in the village of the Brahman Kalanda;⁵ (moreover

the thūpa of which was mistakenly (called) the Abhayagiri Dagaba. On the other hand the present Jetavana Dagaba to the north of the city belonged to the Abhayagiri. Cf. note 33. 81.

¹ Namely, within the old boundaries of the Mahāvihāra, possession of which was thus formally maintained. *Ṭikā*: antosimāya eva aññattha agantvā tasmim tasmim ṭhāne paticchannā hutvā nilīyimeu.

² Evidently since the bhikkhus remaining behind raised a protest.

³ Antimavatthu is a matter that involves expulsion from the order. Cf. M.V. II. 22. 3; 36. 1; *S.B.E.* xiii, p. 276, note 1.

⁴ Now Minneriya, the name of a tank (see below, v. 47) not far from Poḷonnaruwa.

⁵ According to the *Ṭikā* the Gokappa-vihāra is situated on the coast of the 'Eastern Sea', the two other vihāras in Rohaṇa. The *Ṭikā* then adds: *evam subbattha Laṅkadīpamhi kuditṭhikānaṃ ālayaṃ viddhamsetvā, Sivaliṅgādayo nāsetvā buddha-sānaṃ eva patitṭhaposi* 'everywhere in the island of Laṅkā he established the doctrine of the Buddha, having destroyed the temples of the unbelievers, i.e. having abolished the phallic symbols of Śiva and so forth'.

he built) the Migagāma-vihāra and the Gaṅgūsenakapabbata (vihāra). To the west, he built the Dhātūsenapabbata (vihāra); the king founded also the great vihāra in Kokavāta. He built the Thūpārāma-vihāra and the Hulapitṭhi (vihāra) and the two nunneries, called Uttara and Abhaya. At the place of the yakkha Kāvela¹ he built a thūpa, and on the island he restored many ruined buildings. To one thousand sam-ghattheras² he distributed alms for theras, at a cost of a thousand (pieces of money), and to all (the bhikkhus he distributed) yearly a garment. There is no record of his gifts of food and drink.

To make (the land) more fertile, he made sixteen tanks, the Maṇihāra,³ the Mahāgāma, the Chālūra, and the (tank) named Khānu,⁴ the Mahāmapi,⁵ the Kokavāta⁶ and the Dhamma-ramma-tank, the Kumbāśaka and the Vāhana, besides the Rattamālakaṇḍaka,⁷ the tank Tissavaḍḍhamānaka,⁸ that of Velaṅgaviṭṭhi,⁹ that of Mahāgallaka, the Cīra-tank and the Mahādaragallaka and the Kālapāsāpa-tank. These are the sixteen tanks. On the Gaṅgā he built the great canal named Pabbatanta.

Thus did he gather to himself much merit and much guilt.

The Mahāvamsa is ended.

¹ Cf. 10. 84.

² I.e. superiors of the communities of bhikkhus. Cf. 3. 4; 4. 56.

³ See above note to 37. 49.

⁴ A Khānugāma is mentioned 25. 14.

⁵ In 36. 8 the construction of a Mahāmapi-tank is ascribed to Bhūṭikatissa.

⁶ Cf. the Kokavāta-vihāra in 37. 42.

⁷ Maharatnala is the older name of the great Padaviya-lake in the North Central Province, 25 miles north of Anurādhapura. Arch. Survey of Ceylon, XIII, 1896, p. 40. There is, however, also a Ratnala-tank 2½ miles south of Anurādhapura. ED. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 27.

⁸ A village or district of this name is mentioned in 35. 84.

⁹ A vihāra of the same name, see 33. 8.

APPENDIX A

THE DYNASTY OF MAHĀSĀMMA

ON Mah. 2 = Dīp. 3 = Sum. T. p. 258 = Rājāv. p. 4 foll.
(Engl. transl. by B. GUÑASEKARA) I should like to give a reference to two parallel passages in northern Buddhist literature, the *Mahāvastu*¹ which belongs to the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṃghikas and, moreover, of the Lokottaravāda-school, and to the *Dulva*,² the Tibetan translation of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins.

The names handed down in both these sources may be compared with those of the D. and M. in the following list:—

Dīp. Mah.	Mahāvastu	Dulva
Mahāsammata	Mahāsammata	Mahāsammata
Raja	—	Rōkha
Varuroja	—	—
Kalyāṇa	Kalyāṇa	Kalyāṇa
Varakalyāṇa	Rava?	Varakalyāṇa
Uposatha	Uposadha	Utposadha
Māndhātā	Māndhātā	Māndhātā
Caraka	—	Kūru
Upacara	—	Upākūru
&c.	&c.	Kārumat, &c.
—	—	—
Okkāka	Ikkāka	Ikkāka
(Dīp.: surnamed Sujāta)	(surnamed Sujāta)	(Gotama)
Okkāmkha, Nipura and three other sons	Ukkāmkha, ³ Nipura and three other sons	Ukkāmkha, Nāpura and two other sons

¹ Ed. SENART, i, p. 348.

² See ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 11 foll.

³ In the Mahāvastu tradition not Ukkāmkha but Opura is said to be the eldest son; but in the Dulva again the former is so.

In the Mahāvastu I. 348²-352³ and in the Dulva (ROCKHILL, p. 11 foll.) there follows a story about the rise of the Śākya and the founding of Kapilavastu. Ikṣvāku banishes his legitimate sons from the country as he wishes to hand on the throne to Jenta the son of a concubine. He is thus fulfilling a promise into which the mother of Jenta has beguiled him. Ikṣvāku's sons withdraw into the wilderness and there take to wife their sisters who have accompanied them. Afterwards Kapilavastu is built by them. Their descendants are the Śākyas.

This story was also known to the Theravādins. It occurs in Sum. T. p. 258 foll. and in the Tīkā to the Mahāvamsa, p. 84.¹ In agreement with the Dulva the M. T. mentions only four sons of Okkāka who were banished from the country; the fifth is Jantu to whom the brothers have to give way.

Further on (I. p. 352^{1b} foll.) the Mahāvastu relates the story of a Śākya king's daughter who is a leper and therefore banished to the forest. Here she is cured and is found by a hermit named Kola. Kola had formerly been king of Benares and had withdrawn into the forest because he too suffered from leprosy. He married the Śākya princess and from these two sprang the Koliya clan.

This legend too was known in Ceylon, we come across it in Sum. T. p. 260 foll. and in the (Sinhalese) Rājśvali immediately following on the story of the sons of Ikṣvāku.²

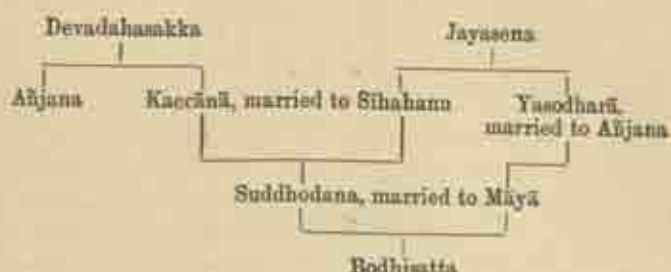
The Mahāvastu and Dulva speak of Siphahanu (= Sihahanu in Dīp. Mah.) as the Buddha's grandfather. He has four sons: (1) Suddhodana the Buddha's father, (2) Dhautodana, (3) Suklodana and (4) Amṛtodana. These are the Suddhodana, Dhutodana, Sukkodana and Amitodana of the Dīp. and Mah., which add yet another, Sakkodana.

According to the Dīp. Mah. the Buddha's genealogical tree³ is this:—

¹ *Mahāvamsa-Tīkā*, ed. BATUWANTUDĀWE and NĀNĪSSARA BHĪKSHU, Colombo, 1895. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 38.

² The *Rājśvali*, ed. (in English) by B. GUNASEKARA, Colombo, 1900, pp. 11-13. GEIGER, *I.I.*, p. 95.

³ See also RHYE DAVIDS, *Buddhism* (1910), p. 52.



The Mahāvastu I. 355¹³ foll. names as Māyā's father Subhūti who was married to a Koliya princess and lived in Devadaha. Plainly this is the Añjana of the Mah., and the Suprabuddha of the Dulva (p. 14), while the Mah. (2. 18-19) takes Suprabuddha to be the son of Añjana and brother of Māyā. Perhaps Suprabuddha was a surname borne by the father and son.¹

¹ For the whole subject cf. also SPENCE HARDY, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 125 foll.

APPENDIX B

THE BUDDHIST SECTS

(On Mah. 5. 1-13)

RHYS DAVIDS. 'The Sects of the Buddhists,' *J.R.A.S.*, 1891, p. 409 foll.; the same, 'Schools of Buddhist Belief,' *J.R.A.S.* 1892, p. 1 foll.; MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, p. 187 foll.

SOUTHERN BUDDHIST LISTS (SB.) occur besides *Mah.* 5 in the *Dip.* 5. 39 foll.; also in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (ed. STROGO, *P.T.S.* 1891), pp. 96-97, in the *Sāsaṇavaṃsa* (ed. M. BODE, *P.T.S.* 1897), p. 14, 24-25; in the Sinhalese *Nikāya-Saṃgraha* (ed. WICKREMANINGHE), pp. 6-9. Special mention should be made of the Commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, the *Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa-Atthakathā* (ed. MINAYEFF, *J.P.T.S.* 1889, pp. 2-3, 5 and *passim*). The *Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa* is ascribed to Tissa Moggaliputta,¹ who is said to have composed it after the holding of the Third Council in order to refute the views held by sectaries. The names of the sects are not mentioned in the *Kathāvatthu* but are in the commentary thereon, mentioned above, which was composed by Buddhaghosa.²

All the Southern Buddhist lists are in complete agreement with one another.

¹ I adhere to this assertion (*Mah.* 5. 278) as a statement of fact. That the objection raised by MINAYEFF (*Recherches*, p. 200) to the age of the work is based upon an error has been already demonstrated by OLDENBERG, *Z.D.M.G.*, 52, p. 633, and RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, p. xviii.

² Quoted by me as Kvu. Co.

I will mention, when occasion arises, certain trifling variations in the *Nik. Samgr.* The ground for the agreement is that all the southern sources are based, in the last resort, upon the old-sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathā*.

NORTHERN BUDDHIST LISTS (NB.) occur in the *Dulva*, the Tibetan Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins according to a work of Bhavya, see ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 182 foll. (R.), and according to a work of Vasumitra, see WASSILJEV, *Der Buddhismus* (1860), i, p. 224 foll. (W.), also BEAL, 'The Eighteen Schools of Buddhism' (*Ind. Ant.*, ix, p. 299 foll.) (VB).¹

Besides we have lists in *Taranātha*. See SCHIEFNER, *Taranātha's History of Buddhism in India* (1869), pp. 270-274 (Tār.).

ST. JULIEN gives five Chinese lists based, for the most part, upon Vasumitra: 'Listes diverses des noms de dix-huit écoles schismatiques qui sont sorties du Bouddhisme,' *Journ. As.*, v. série, t. xiv (1859), p. 327 foll. (St. J.). To these may be added the statements of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian, Hsien-thsang² and I-tsing.³

The number of the sects is unanimously given as 18. Evidently we again have to do with one of those established numbers which form the backbone of tradition.

The individual names vary and the dividing-up of the sects also shows certain variations. This is shown by the following survey:—

1. SB. THERAVĀDA = NB. STHAVIRAVĀDA is one of the two original schools into which the united church was divided at the first schism. It was so according to Mah. Dip., &c., also according to St. J., p. 343 (list V), 100 years after the Nirvāṇa. On the other hand the number is 116 in St. J. 333 (list II); and 160 in R. 182, St. J. 336 (list V).

¹ BEAL gives two lists following Vasumitra, as ROCKHILL gives two following Bhavya.

² I call them Ch. 1, 2, and quote Fa-hian and Hsien-thsang according to BEAL (B.), *Buddhist Records of the Western World*.

³ A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing, transl. by TAKAKUSU, Ch. 3.

We may consider as a synonymous designation :—

1^a. SB. HEMAVATA = NB. HAIMAVATA in W. 253, VB. 300, R. 184. Still in R. 190 distinctions are made between the Sthaviras and the Haimavatas. In Dip. and Mah., &c., they are considered as separate sects. Probably the Haimavatas were a local school of the Sthaviras of continental India.

2. SB. MAHĀSAMGHIKA = NB. MAHĀSAMGHIKA.¹ For their particular doctrine see W. 258 foll. They are the second school of the first great schism.

3. SB. GOKULIKA = NB. GOKULIKA (R. 186, 187; Tār. 271; VB. 301; St. J. 330, 334, 337, 341 = lists I-IV). The name is missing in Ch. 1, 2, 3 as also in W. In its place here appears :—

3^a. KUKKUṬIKA (W. 252, 258) or KUKKULIKA (W. 249; VB. 300). Similarly in St. J. 344 (list V), the Kaukkuṭikas are put in instead of the Gokulikas and the two are expressly said 341 (list IV) to be identical.

Very closely related to the Gokulikas are :—

3^b. LOKOTTARAVĀDIN who do not appear in the tradition of the Southern Buddhists. They are mentioned immediately beside the Gokulikas (or Kukkuṭikas). (W. 249, 252, 258; VB. 301; St. J. 334, 337, 341, 343 = lists II-V.) In R. 182 they are to be found just in the place where we should expect the Gokulikas. Cf. St. J. 330 = list I and Tār. 271, where the Gokulikas appear in the list, whilst, on the other hand, the Lokottaravādin are missing. Lastly, Tār. says, 273, that Lokottaravādin and Kaukkuṭapādas are the same. Ch. 2 mentions the L. in Bāmiān (BEAL, i. 50).

4. SB. EKAVYOHĀRIKA = NB. EKAVYAVAHĀRIKA (W. 249, 252; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 187; Tār. 271; St. J. 330, 334, 337, 341, 344 = lists I-V). According to Tār. 273 the name is employed as a general designation of the Mahāsamghikas. Their doctrines according to W. 258 are the same as those of 2, 3^a and 3^b.

¹ In St. J. 340 (list II) the Kārmikas, besides the Yogācāras and Aśvārnikas, are reckoned as belonging to the Mahāsamghikas.

5. SB. PAÑṢATTIVĀDIN = NB. PRAJÑĀPTIVĀDIN (W. 251; R. 182; Tār. 271; St. J. 341 = list IV; missing in VB. 300; St. J. lists I-III, V, also in R. 185). They are the Si-chi in VB. 301. For their particular doctrines see W. 268, R. 189.

6. SB. BAHULIKA = NB. BAHUŚRUTĪYA (W. 250; VB. 300, 301; R. 182; Tār. 250, 252; St. J. 330, 334, 338, 341, 345 = lists I-V). For their doctrines see W. 268; R. 189.

7. SB. CETIYAVĀDA = NB. CAITIKA OF CAITTIKA (W. 251, 252; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 186). They are said to be a branch of the Gokulikas, R. 189; Tār. 252. In Tār. 273 they are said to be identical with the Pūrvaśailas. Corresponding to them in the lists I-III, V = St. J. 330, 334, 338, 345 are the Jetikas or Jetavaniyās or Jetaśailas.

8. SB. MAHĪŚĀSAKA = NB. MAHĪŚĀSAKA. They are, according to R. 186; Tār. 271, to be reckoned as belonging to the Vibhajjavādins (cf. 14^a) and are said to be a branch of the Sarvāstivādins in W. 254; VB. 300, 301; St. J. 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists II-V. For their doctrines see R. 185, 191; W. 280 foll. Ch. 2 mentions them in Swīt (BEAL, i, p. 121). According to the same authority (BEAL, i, p. 226) the Bodhisattva Asaṅga professed himself to be of the school of the M., but went over to the Mahāyāna.

9. SB. VAJJIPUTTAKA = NB. VAŚĪPUTRĪYA OF VĀSAPUTRĪYA (W. 253, 256; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 184, 186, 193; Tār. 271, 272, 273; St. J. 331, 335, 339, 342 = lists I-IV). They are said to be a branch of the Sarvāstivādins in W. 253, VB. 301, St. J. 335 (list II), while according to the southern Buddhist tradition the relation is reversed; and they are said, R. 186, to be a principal branch of the Sthaviras beside the Sarvāstivādins. The Kvu. Co., however, mentions them very slightly. The Pāli form of the name must be understood as an assimilation to the name of the Vajjiputtaka monks, the sectaries of Vesālī.

10. SB. DHAMMUTTARĪYA = NB. DHARMOTTARĪYA the Dharmakārikas of the Nik. S., are said, as also in the southern

tradition, to be a branch of the Vatsīputriyā (W. 253; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 186; Tār. 271; St. J. 331, 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists I-V).

11. SB. BHADRĀYĀNIKA = BHADRĀYANĪYA are also a branch of the Vatsīputriyās (W. 253; VB. 300, 301; R. 186; Tār. 271, 273; St. J. 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists II-V), and stand in especially close relation (R. 194) to the Dharmottariyās from whom, according to St. J. 331 (list I), they had taken their rise.¹ For 10 and 11, R. gives the common designation Mahāgiriya.

12. SB. CHANDĀGĀRIKA = NB. SAṆṆAGARIKA 'those from the 6 cities', also a branch of the Vatsīputriyās (W. 254; VB. 300; R. 186, cf. 194; Tār. 271; St. J. 335, 342 = lists II, IV) and are but slightly distinguished from 11 (W. 279). In the lists I, III, V in St. J. 337, 339, 345 there appear, instead of them, the Abhayagirivāsins.

13. SB. SAMMĪTĪYA = NB. SAMMĀTĪYA, taking their rise like 10-12, from 9 (W. 254; R. 186; Tār. 271, 272; St. J. 331, 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists I-V). According to R. 182 they are also called (13^a) AVANTAKA or (13^b) KURUKULLAKA, and Tār. 272 relates that according to the view of the Sarvāstivādins, the Kaurukullakas, the Avantakas, and the Vatsīputriyās are the three kinds of the Sammatīyās. They are the Mī-li in VB. 301. They must have been a widely spread sect; Ch. 2 mentions them repeatedly as a school of the Hinayāna (see BEAL, ii. 14, 44, 45, 186, &c.); according to Ch. 3 (TAKAKUSU, p. xxiv) they fall into four subdivisions and are spread over Western India and in Campā (Cochin-China) especially. The Kyū. Co. in a whole series of passages is occupied with their doctrines. On those see R. 194.

14. SB. SABBATTHAVĀDIN = NB. SARVĀSTIVĀDIN. According to W. 253, VB. 301, St. J. 339 (list III) and 342 (list IV), they are also called (14^a) HETUVĀDA or HETUVĪDYA, and according to R. 182, also Muruntaka, and they are said (W. 253, R. 182, Tār. 271) to be, beside the Vatsīputriyās,

¹ It should be observed, however, that in the list I, in St. J., each school is made to take its rise from the one mentioned before it.

one of the principal schools of the Sthaviras. The statements of the Chinese pilgrims agree with this.

Ch. 1 (BEAL, i, p. lxx) states that the Vinaya of the S. is held to be particularly correct and agrees in essentials with that which is observed in China. Ch. 2 (BEAL, i, pp. 18, 19, 49, &c., ii, pp. 182, 270, &c.) mentions them frequently as a branch of the Hinayāna; the Bodhisattva Vasubandhu (BEAL, i, 226) professed himself of this school. According to Ch. 3 (TAKAKUSU, p. xxiv) the S. were (beside the Sthaviras, Mahāsamghikas and Saṃmatīyas) one of the four principal Buddhist schools; they themselves fell into four groups (Mūlasarvāstivādins, Dharmaguptas, Mahīśāsakas and Kāśyapīyas), and had spread mostly in Magadha and Eastern India. On their doctrines see W. 270 foll.; R. 184, 185, 190. See also TAKAKUSU, *J.P.T.S.* 1904-1905, pp. 67 foll.

Here I will mention :—

14^b. SB. VIBHAJJAVĀDIN = NB. VIBHAJJAVĀDIN. These are mentioned Mah. 5, 271. It is said here that the Buddha professed himself belonging to the V. From this as from the relation of the list in Tār. 271, 272 to the Ceylonese list (Dip. 5, 43 foll.; Mah. 5, 6-9), OLDENBERG¹ has concluded that V. is another name for the Theravādins. In the Mahābodhivamsa, besides, this is said in plain terms.² However, according to Tār. 272, the V. are reckoned as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins, beside which they appear in R. 182 as a Sthavira school. According to R. 186, 191, Tār. 271 they embrace the sects of the Mahīśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas, Dharmaguptakas and (14^c) TĀMRAŚĀṬĪYAS. The last named are in Tār. 272, 274 counted as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins and identified with the Saṃkrāntikas and (14^b) the UTTARĪYAS.

If we resume these data it appears that Vibhajjavādin denotes not so much a particular sect but rather a philosophical tendency, which, for the Theravādins, was bound up

¹ *Vin. Pit.*, i, p. xli foll.

² P. 25¹⁷: *therānaṃ saṃbandhacāronattā theravādo ti, vibhajjavādinā munindena dehitattā vibhajjavādo ti vuccatī*. The same conclusion may be drawn from Mah. *Tikā*, 94^a, 99^a.

with their conception of orthodoxy¹ and to which their different schools thenceforward laid claim.²

15. SB. DHAMMAGUTTĪKA = NB. DHARMAGUPTAKA. They are, as we have just seen, reckoned as belonging to the Vibhajjavādins and are said (W. 254; VB. 300, 301; St. J. 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists II-V) to be a branch of the Mahāsāsaka. On their doctrines see W. 283, R. 192.

16. SB. KASSAPIYA = NB. KĀŚYAPĪYA, belonging also to the Vibhajjavādins. They took their rise in the Sarvāstivādins (W. 255; VB. 300, 301; St. J. 335, 340, 342, 346 = lists II-V) and are also called (16*) SUVARṢAKA (W. and St. J. as above; cf. Tār. 271). For their doctrines see W. 283-284, R. 193.

17. SB. SAMKANTĪKA = NB. SAMKRĀNTIVĀDIN, a branch of the Sarvāstivādins (W. 255; BV. 300, 301; Tār. 271, 272; R. 193; St. J. 336, 340, 342 = lists II-IV). Their other name is said to be Uttariya (R. 183; Tār. 273), also Tāmraśāṭīya (see under 14^b). In W. 256, St. J. 336, 342 = lists II-IV they are identified with the Sautrāntika.

18. SB. SUTTAVĀDA = NB. SAUTRĀNTĪKA. The accounts of this school are far from clear. In the SB. sources no further mention is made of it. Its identity with 17 seems also to be evident from R. 186 where in the list the Sautrāntikas are introduced as a branch of the Sarvāstivādins, but the Samkrāntivādins are missing.

In Ch. 2 also the former (see BEAL, i, pp. 139, 226; ii, p. 302) are mentioned, but not the latter. Besides, in list I, St. J. 332 the Sautrāntika evidently appear in the place of 17, being a branch of the Kāśyapīya. On the other hand, according to St. J. 340, 346 (lists III, V) the Sautrāntika would seem to be identical with the Prajñaptivādins (5), thus would belong not to the Sthaviras at all but to the Mahāsamghikas.

¹ Only thus can we understand how the Buddha himself can be called a Vibhajjavādī. He could never be called a Theravādī.

² Cf. Kathāvatthu (ed. TAYLOR), ii, p. 578, with the Co., pp. 177-178.

It seems that this last conclusion may also be drawn from R. 186 (n. 1) and Tār. 271.

Besides these eighteen schools the SB. sources mention the following branches:—

19. SB. HEMAVATA = NB. HAIMAVATA. See above I^a.

20. SB. RĀJAGIRIYA = NB. RĀJAGIRIYA. They are counted (R. 186) as belonging to the Mahāsamghikas, but are missing entirely from the other list, R. 182. In Tār. 271, too, they only appear in the list belonging to the Mahāsamghikas. In the Chinese lists in St. J. they appear just as little as in Ch. 1, 2, 3.

21. SB. SIDDHATTHIKA. They are not mentioned in the NB. lists.

22. SB. PURBASĒLIYA = NB. PŪYASĒILA. It is clear and beyond doubt, from all the data, that these are most closely related to the Caityika. They are mentioned beside them (R. 182, 186; Tār. 271) or positively in place of them (W. 251, 252). In Ch. 2 they are mentioned only once as the Avāśāila (Beal, ii, p. 221); Ch. 1 and 3 do not mention them. In St. J. 331, 334, 338, 342, 345 (lists I–V) the (22^a) UTTARASĒILA are also mentioned, always beside the Jetikas; in list I, VB. 300, also beside the Pūrvasāilas; and in list V, VB. 301 beside the Aparasāilas.

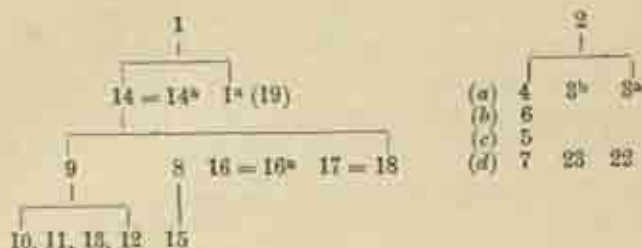
23. SB. APARASĒLIYA = NB. APARASĒILA or AVARASĒILA, introduced as a school of the Mahāsamghikas in W. 254, 255; R. 182, 186; Tār. 271.

24. SB. VĀJIRIYA (Dīp. 5. 54 = Apararājagiriya). They are not mentioned in the northern sources, and the same may be said of the 23. DHAMMAUCI and 24. SĀGALIYA which are expressly called (Mah. 5. 13) Ceylonese sects.¹ Lastly, we may refer to the 25. VETULYA mentioned Mah. 36. 41, 111, also KERN's ingenious combination by which they are brought into relation with the Mahāyāna.

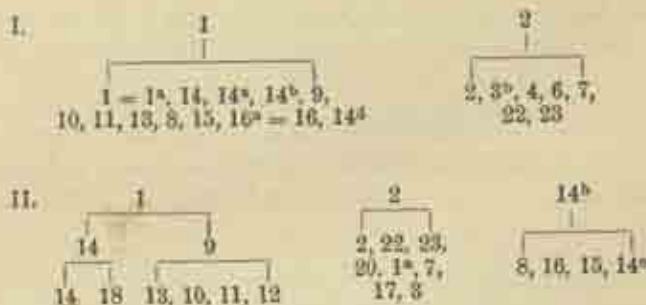
¹ On their origin see the interesting passage in the *Mah. Pīṭā*, p. 115, l. 31 foll., translated by TUNSON, *Mah.*, p. liii.

The different opinions as to the relation of the different sects to one another and their rise of one from another may be given in the form of a genealogical tree.

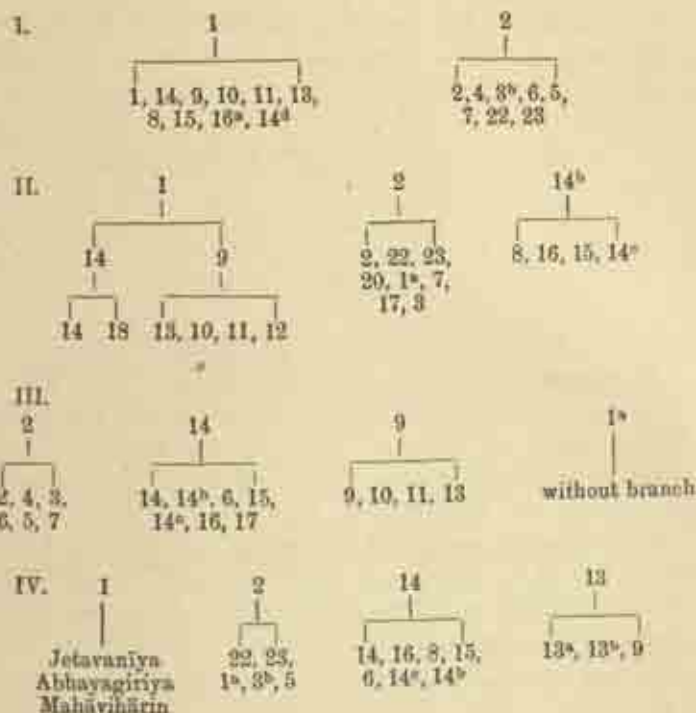
1. VASUMITRA (W. 249; VB. 301) divides them after the separation of 1 and 2 thus—



2. BHAVYA (R. 182, 186) represents two views of which the one is based on the same division as in Vasumitra's list, but the second on an original division into three, where the Vibhajyavādins form the third group.



3. TĀRANĀTHA (270-271) gives four different lists: I, according to the Sthaviras; II, according to the Mahāsamghikas; III, according to the Saṃmatīyans; and IV, according to the Sarvāstivādins. The first is based on a division into two principal groups, the second on a similar division into three, the third and fourth on a division into four. The first two lists coincide with those of Bhavya.



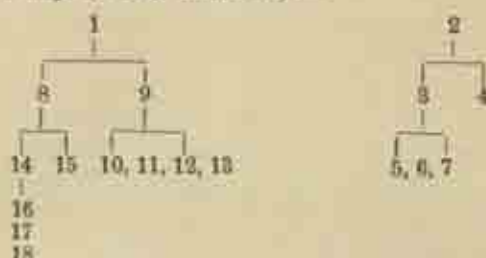
4. Of the Chinese lists in St. Julien the lists II-V are in agreement with each other and agree with Vasumitra's list with quite trifling variations. List I is connected with Bhavya's first list and Vasumitra's also (in BRAL), but makes each sect branch off from the preceding one within the two great groups. The series is as follows:—

1. : 14 : 1^a : 9 : 10 : 11 : 13 : 13^{a1} : 15 : 16 : 18.
 2. : 4 : 3 : 6 : 7 : 22 : 22^a.

5. I-TSING admits four principal groups: (a) Mahāsaṃghika (with seven subdivisions); (b) Sthavira (with three subdivisions); (c) Sarvāstivāda (with Mūlasarvāstivāda, Dharmagupta, Mahīśāsaka, and Kāśyapīya as subdivisions); and (d) Saṃmitīya (with four subdivisions). Here, too, eighteen is given as the sum-total of the schools.

¹ The sect of the Abhayagirivāsins is inserted between 13 and 13^a.

6. According to Dip. and Mah. the relation of the schools takes this shape (cf. list I of Tār.) :—



As regards the time at which the separate schools arose, according to the Ceylonese sources the first schism took place 100 years after the Nirvāṇa. The remaining sects must have arisen in the time between the Second and Third Council, i.e. between 100 A.D. and 247 A.D., the most of them in the second century after the Nirvāṇa, but the last six (19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24) in the third century, the Dhammaruci, according to the Mah. Tīkā at the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the Sāgaliyas at that of Mahāsena.¹

Among the Northern Buddhists we find quite similar traditions.

According to VASUMITRA (W. 249 foll., VB. 301) the sects 4, 3^a, and 3^b, as also 6 and 5, were formed in the course of the second century A.D., that is, after the first schism. By the end of the second century 7, 22, and 22^a had arisen. In the third century arose 14 (14^a), and 1^a, later 9, and then 10, 11, 13, 12, also 8, and from this last 15. Only the rise of 17 (= 18) is placed in the fourth century. These dates are transferred from Vasumitra into the Chinese lists (ST. JULIEN).

The information given by I-TSING on the spread of the schools at his time, i.e. towards the end of the seventh century A.D.,² is of great interest. At that time the Sarvāstivādins prevailed in Magadha, the Saṃmitīyas in North-west India, the Sarvāstivādins in the North, and in the South the Sthaviras. In the East the four great groups, i.e. the three above mentioned and the Mahāsamghikas, were mixed.

¹ See p. 263, n. 1.

² TAKAKUSU, *I-tsing*, pp. 8-9.

In the polemics of the Kathāvatthu¹ the most prominent schools, according to the commentator Buddhaghosa, are the Theravādins, the Sāpmitīyas, the Mahīpsāsakas, the Sabbatthavādins, and the Mahāsaṃghikas. But more frequently than these the names ANDHAKA and UTTARAPATHAKA are employed, in which Buddhaghosa evidently comprises the South Indian and North Indian sects.

¹ See RHYE DAVIDS, *J.R.A.S.* 1891, p. 413.

APPENDIX C

CAMPAIGNS OF PAṆDUKĀBHAYA (Mah. 10. 27 foll.) AND DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI (Mah. 25. 1 foll.)

PAṆDUKĀBHAYA takes refuge from the persecution of his uncles in Paṇḍulagāma.

The place is unknown. In our inquiry, therefore, we must take as starting-point Pāṇa, where he gathers together his first followers, to engage in battle with his uncles.

Pāṇa is situated near Kāsapabbata. This name has been, I believe, preserved in the modern Kaḥagala-gama,¹ the name of a village situated about ten miles to the north of Kaḥu-wāwa and fifteen miles to the south-west of Anurādhapura.

From Pāṇa he does not direct his march northward on the then capital of the country Upatissagāma.² He is not strong enough for this. Rather he is obliged to follow the tactics of all rebels, to bring first the border-districts, the *paṇḍulagāwā*, into his power.³ Therefore he marches first towards the south-east, more or less along the line which Duṭṭhagāmaṇi followed, in the opposite direction in his march against Anurādhapura. Probably the old military road ran along here. So he comes first into the district of Girikaṇḍasiva. This name is, we may conjecture, connected with that of Girilaka, which is mentioned Mah. 25. 47 with reference to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's campaign. We must look for this district between the Kaḥu-wāwa and the Riṭigala.

¹ On the map of Ceylon, four miles to an inch.

² Upatissagāma is situated on the Gambhīranadi (Mah. 7. 44) to the north of Anurādhapura. From here to the Gambhīranadi (Mah. 28. 7) is a distance of a *yojana* = 7-8 miles. By this we arrive at a general notion of the position of Upatissagāma.

³ *Griṭṭa, Dip. and Mah.*, pp. 39-40.

P. now marches on southward of Ritigala to the spot where the Ambanganga and Mahaweliganga unite. To the south of the Mineri-tank the people of Girikaṇḍasiva come up with him. The result is the battle of Kalaha-nagara. This is the Kalahagala¹ of the present day, situated 7-8 miles distant from the lake mentioned. Not far from here we must look for the scene of the second battle of Lobitavāha-khaṇḍa (Mah. 10. 43).

Although the victory in both battles is attributed to P., he does not yet venture to attack Upatissagāma directly. On the contrary, he continues his march in the direction followed hitherto, and crosses the Mahaweliganga (*paṭṭaṇḍiganga*, Mah. 10. 44).

The place where he crossed over must have been the Kacchaka-ford, which I take to be the Mahagantota² below the spot where the Ambanganga flows into the Mahaweliganga.

As the base of further operations P. chooses a region on the right bank of the Mahāgāṇḍā (Mahaweliganga), the Doḷa-mountain. This name survives in that of the village Doḷagalawela³ in the Bintenne district, twenty miles to the north of the place so named, which is now called Alutnuwara.

During the four years that P. spends near the Doḷa-mountain he is said to have been making preparations for the really decisive battle. This is made possible for him by the fact that he has now the whole province of Rohaṇa, with all its resources, behind him. By his position he has also the key to the most important or the only ford of the Mahaweliganga.

In the meantime P.'s uncles have also completed their preparations. They march against the rebels and entrench themselves on the Dhūmarakkha-mountain. Its position is shown clearly by Mah. 10. 53, 57, 58. We must look for it

¹ See *Census of Ceylon*, 1901, iv, p. 463.

² *Itinerary of Roads in Ceylon*, i (1909), p. 32, no. 68.

³ *Census*, 1901, iv, p. 262. The Doḷakhaṇḍa which PARKER (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 192) mentions cannot be the Doḷa-pabbata of the Mah., since it is situated (PARKER, in a letter dated July 17, 1910) about ten miles to the north of Kurunāgala.

on the left bank of the Mahawæliganga, not far from the Kacchaka-ford. The chief object of the uncles was evidently to prevent P. from crossing the river.

However, to be beforehand with them, P. risks the crossing. He defeats the enemy in flight, and takes possession of their camp. He then proceeds on the direct road to the capital.

On the Aritṭha-pabbata (Ritigala) he pitches an entrenched camp which is to serve as a base for his final operations. The uncles once more march against him with fresh troops. The decisive battle takes place near Lābu-gāmaka (Mah. 10. 72), the Labunoruwa¹ of the present day, on the north-west slope of the Ritigala. P. carries off the victory.

The road to the capital now lies open to him. He takes possession of it and afterwards, having assumed sole sovereignty, he removes the royal residence to Anurūdhapura.

We see that the information given by the Mahāvamsa on Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns, if rightly understood, is quite adequate. The military measures taken seem thoroughly methodical: their aim can be clearly understood.

On quite similar lines is the advance of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi on Anurūdhapura, a proof that we have to do in both cases with old connecting roads between the regions left and right of the Mahawæliganga. P. was obliged to secure these in order to carry out successfully his operations against Upatissa-gāma. D. used them for bringing up his troops.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi starts (Mah. 25. 5) from Mahāgūma in Rohapa, the site of which is indicated by the ruins of Tissa-Mahārāma in the South Province, sixteen miles north-east of Hambantota. Taking a northerly direction, he marches through Guttahālaka,² now Buttala, towards Mahiyangana. This, according to the local tradition, is the modern Bintenne or Alutnuwara.

¹ *Census*, 1901, iv, p. 464.

² The evidence for this site is chiefly Mah. 24. 17. D. stations outposts in G. on the look-out for his brother Tissa, whose advance from Dighavāpi is expected here.

D. is here on the bank of the Mahaweliganga. Now follows the enumeration of a whole series of forts which were occupied by Damiḷas and taken by D.

Among these, too, appears Kaccha-tittha (now Mahagaṇṭota), to take which required a four months' siege (Mah. 25. 12). I think, therefore, that the places mentioned are mere frontier-outposts or forts which had been placed along the Mahaweliganga¹ from the bend of the river above Bintenne to the neighbourhood of the mouth. The individual names cannot now be settled.

The remains of the vanquished Damiḷa-divisions retreat towards Vijita-nagara. It still seems to me most probable that we should look for this city in the neighbourhood of Kajuwa, where the Vijitapura-vihāra is now situated, and ruins in the jungle testify to the former existence of a larger settlement.²

In all probability D. will have crossed the Mahagaṅgā near Kacchaka-tittha. On the advance against Vijita he first followed the same road that Paṇḍukābhaya used when he marched from the Kāsa-pabbata to the Doḷa-pabbata. It must have run somewhere between Sigiri and the Mineri-tank.

The siege and storming of Vijita are described with great clearness and vivacity. The further stations, Girilaka, Mahela-nagara, and Kāsa-pabbata lay far along the road which leads from Dambul to Anurādhapura. On the Kāsa-pabbata D. entrenched himself, evidently in order to await in a favourable position his adversary Eḷāra. Here again in fact it comes to a decisive battle, the fortunate issue of which opens to D. the road to the capital. The conquered foe was pursued up to the immediate vicinity of Anurādhapura. In a last attempt to bring the fleeing troops to a halt beneath the walls of the city Eḷāra falls by the hand of D. in heroic single combat.

¹ Cf. Mah. 25. 19, where this seems to be plainly said.

² BURNOWS, *Buried Cities of Ceylon*, p. 75. PARKER certainly (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 287 foll.) looks for Vijita in the region of the later Pojonnaruwa.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF PĀLI TERMS OCCURRING IN THE TRANSLATION

1. ĀCARIYA, 'teacher, master.' See p. 31, n. 4.
2. ARAHANT. Literally 'able, worthy', a person who has reached the ideal. In an Arahant the *āsavā*, the deadly drugs of delusion, are brought to an end; he is no longer subject to re-birth, but lives in Nirvāṇa, the final liberation. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhism*, 110; *Early Buddhism*, 72-74.
3. ĀRĀMA, 'park, garden.' Designation of a Buddhist convent = *vihāra*, CHILDERS, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v.
4. ĀSAVA. The term is hardly translatable. It has been first explained by RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, p. 92, ii, p. 28 (= SBB. ii, iii). According to Buddhaghosa, *Asl.* 48¹³, well-matured spirituous liquors are called *āsavā*. *Jāt.* IV. 222¹⁸ we read: *āsavo tāta lokasmiṃ surā nāma pavuccati*. The underlying idea is, therefore, that of 'overwhelming intoxication', not that of a deadly flood. There are four *āsavā*: (1) *kāma* 'lust, desire', (2) *bhava* '(desire of a future) existence', (3) *avijjā* 'ignorance (of the four holy truths)', and (4) *diṭṭhi* 'false belief'. D. I. 84; II. 81; M. I. 7, &c., *khiṇāsava* 'one who has overcome the āsavas', and *anāsava* 'one who is free from the āsavas', are epithets of the arahant.
5. BHIKKHU, BHIKKHUṢĪ, mendicant monk, nun. Member of the Buddhist order.
6. BUDDHA (*Sambuddha*, *Sammā-Sambuddha* convey the same notion in a heightened degree) denotes a being who by his own force has attained to possession of the highest knowledge. He is neither man nor god. He is able to perform certain wonders in accord with the laws of nature. In an endless

series of existences the Buddha prepares himself for his state of Buddhahood. During the whole of this time he is called a *bodhiatta* (Skt. *bodhiatta*) till in his last existence as a man—the last but one he generally spends in a heaven of the gods—he attains to knowledge (*bodhi*, *sambodhi*, *abhisambodhi*). In the ancient texts *sambodhi* is always the insight of an Arahant.¹ Since this event comes to pass for the historical Buddha under an *asvattha* tree (*Ficus religiosa*), this is the sacred tree of the Buddhists, and the 'Bodhi-tree' (Sinh. *bōgaha*) is not lacking in any Buddhist sanctuary in Ceylon.

A Paccekabuddha has also reached Nirvāṇa (see below) by his own force, but does not come forward as a teacher. The historical Buddha is called, after his family, Gotama Buddha or Sakyamuni, 'the sage of the house of the Sakyas.' See KERN, p. 62 foll.

7. CETIYA. See under THŪPA.

8. DEVATĀ, divinity, genius, particularly applied to the spirits which, according to popular belief, inhabit trees, wells, hills, and in fact every place. In Mah. 28, 6 a *devatā* of the royal parasol is mentioned.

9. DHAMMA, truth, religion, the sum-total of Buddhist doctrine. Opposed to *vinaya*, 'Discipline, the monastic rule,' Dhamma in the more restricted sense denotes the second part of the tipitaka (which see).

10. KARĪSA, first a measure of capacity; in another sense an area of about 4 acres, i.e. as much ground as can be sown with a *karisa* of seed-corn. See RHYE DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 18.

11. KHATTIYA (Skt. *kṣatriya*), the class of nobles or warriors. This was one of the four ancient *varṇa*, or social grades. The Buddhists and Jainas put them first in the list, the Brahmans put themselves first. The Khattiyas have been sometimes called a caste; but they never formed an organized community, like the modern castes, with connubium and commensality between all Khattiyas. See RHYE DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i. 96-107; *Buddhist India*, 52 ff.

¹ RHYE DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, pp. 190-192.

12. *MANTA*, formula, sacred formula, charm, spell, designation of the Vedic hymns. Cf. *Mah.* 5, 109.

13. *NĀGA*, designation of supernatural beings, snake-demons, sometimes represented in human form with a snake's hood in the neck, sometimes as mixed forms, half man half snake. They are distinguished by devout reverence toward the Buddha. Their sworn enemies are the *Garuda*, winged beings resembling the griffin (cf. p. 129, n. 4). See GEÛNWEDEL, *Buddhist. Kunst*, p. 42 foll.

14. *NIHRĀṆA* (Skt. *nivṛāṇa*). One of the terms for Arahantship. At *Saṃyutta* IV. 251, 261 it is defined as the destruction (in the heart) of *rāga*, *dosa*, and *moha* (lust, illwill, and stupidity); and is stated to be attainable by the eightfold Path. See also DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Bouddhisme*, p. 57 ff.

15. *PABBAJĀ*. Literally 'going forth'; the technical term for giving up the household life and becoming a *religieux*, entering an order. The rules for the reception of candidates for membership varied in the various orders. The Buddhist rules are now translated by RHYS DAVIDS and H. OLDENBERG, *Vinaya Texts*, vol. i. When a candidate is first admitted he is called a *Sāmaṇera*, novice.

16. *PACCEKABUDDHA*. See under *BUDDHA*.

17. *PARIVĒṬA*, monk's cell, the private dwelling of a bhikkhu within the monastery.

18. *PAVĀRAṆĀ*, 'invitation,' name of a festival held by the bhikkhus at the close of the *casā*, i.e. the rainy season, spent in the monastery. See *Vinaya Texts*, i, pp. 335-353.

19. *SAMAṆA*, 'ascetic,' designation of the Buddhist priests as opposed to the *Brāhmaṇa*.

20. *SĀMAṆERA*. See under *PABBAJĀ*.

21. *SAMGHATTHERA*. See under *THERA*.

22. *SUDDA* (Skt. *Sūdra*), a man of the fourth, non-Aryan caste.

23. TĀLA. Lit. 'palm,' a measure of length. RHYE DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins, &c.*, p. 18.

24. TATHĀGATA, one of the terms of veneration applied to the Buddhas. The Buddha usually speaks of himself thus. The meaning is a matter of controversy. The native commentators explain the word in quite different ways. See BURNOUR, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, p. 75.

25. THERA, THERĪ (Skt. *śrāvira*, 'rā'), term of respect applied to monks and nuns, especially to those of venerable age. *Samghatthera* is the denotation of the senior priest in any assembly of bhikkhus, or in the whole community. See J.P.T.S. 1908, p. 19.

26. THŪPA (Skt. *stūpa*, tope), name of edifices which serve as receptacle for a relic or as monument. They are hemispherical or bell-shaped, and rest upon a base of three concentric stories which form ambulatories round the tope; they sustain a cubical erection, the so-called *tee* from which rises the spire (*ekatta*) which crowns the whole. The relic-chamber (*dhātugabbha*, whence the name 'Dagaba', used in Ceylon for the whole edifice) is in the interior, below the *tee*.

The expression *cetiya* (Skt. *caitya*), originally the most general term for 'sanctuary'—a tree, too, can be a *cetiya*—is used in the Mah. mostly as a synonym for *thūpa*. Cf., for instance, *Mahācetiya* or *Mahāthūpa* as the name of the Ruwanweli-Dagaba in Anurādhapura.

There is frequent mention in the Mah. of a *thūpaghara* or *cetiyaighara*, 'house of the thūpa or cetiya.'

There can be no doubt, from Mah. 31. 29, that sometimes a sort of roof or temple was built over the tope. In Anurādhapura the Thūpārāma-Dagaba is surrounded by four concentric rows of pillars. It appears as if the two inner rows, where the capitals of the pillars have tenons, were intended to bear the roof of a thūpaghara. PARKER (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 270) considers it altogether possible, differing in this from SMITH (in *Anurādhapura*, p. 7). Of course such temples could only be

constructed over the smaller thūpas, and, as far as I can see, are only mentioned in this case. If mention is made of a *bodhighara*, i.e. of a temple for the bodhi-tree, then it is naturally only a question of building round and not over the sacred tree.

27. *TIPITAKA* (Skt. *tripitaka*). Lit. 'three baskets,' collective name for the canonical scriptures of the Buddhists. They fall into three main divisions, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Sutta-p.* (or *Dhamma*), and *Abhidhamma-p.* See CHILDERS, s.v.; KERN, p. 1 foll.

28. *UPASAMPADĀ*, the solemn ordination of the monk who is a novice until that time, by a chapter of the order; the higher consecration of the priesthood. See CHILDERS, s.v.; KERN, p. 77 foll.; SP. HARDY, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 44 foll.

29. *UPOSATHA* (Skt. *upavasatha*). The Buddhist sabbath which is considered a holy day both for priests and laymen. It occurs four times in the month: on the full- and new-moon day, and on the eighth day following full- and new-moon. On two of these four days the recitation of the *Pātimokkha*-precepts (*pātimokkhuḍḍesa*) takes place, i.e. the priestly ceremony of confession, in which every member of the order is to acknowledge the faults he has committed. CHILDERS, s.v.; KERN, p. 99.

Upasathāgāra, or *uposathaghara*, is a building belonging to the monastery used for the performance of the uposatha ceremonies.

30. *VEDĪ* or *VEDIKĀ* (Skt. the same), means first 'terrace, altar'. When in Mah. 36. 52 a *pāsāṇavedī* around the bodhi-tree is mentioned, it means a stone terrace, on which such sacred trees usually stand. Cf. in the same sense *śilāvedī*, Mah. 36. 103.

Further, this word has the sense of 'terrace with balustrade'. It is to be understood thus in D. II. pp. 182-183 in the description of Sudassana's palace. Exactly in the same manner, D. II. pp. 181-182, by *sopāṇa* a 'staircase with balustrade' is meant, and in both passages an accurate description follows,

not of the terrace or of the staircase, but especially of the rail.

When a *muddharedi* and *pāḍavedi* of a *thūpa* are mentioned (Mah. 35. 2) the former is the so-called *tee*, the latter the storied base (see no. 26). Railings in relief are frequently added to both. SMITHER, p. 52, 27. Finally the meaning 'balustrade, railing' supersedes the others. Thus by the coral-*vedikās* to the *kūṭāgāra*, the 'window-chambers' of the *Loha-pāsāda*, the parapet-balustrade to the windows is evidently meant. Cf. *vedikā-vāṭapāna*, C.V. VI. 2. 2. Plainly in the same way *vedikā*, C.V. V. 14. 2, means a balustrade. See S.B.E. xx, p. 104, n. 3; p. 162, n. 4.

31. *VESSA* (Skt. *vaśya*), a man of the third social grade.

32. *VIHĀRA*, dwelling, habitation for gods as also for monks, therefore temple or convent (FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, i, p. 170). In the Mah. the latter meaning prevails.

33. *YAKKHA* (f. *yakkhiṇī*; Skt. *yakṣa*, *yakṣiṇī*), designation of certain supernatural beings who are under the rule of *Vessavaṇa* (Skt. *Vaiśravaṇa*, name of the god Kubera). In the Mah. the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon are frequently called *Yakkha*.

34. *YOJANA*, a measure of length. According to the system of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* 196, 1 *yojana* is = 4 *gāvuta* = 80 *usabha* = 20 *yajjhi* = 7 *ratana* (or *hattha* 'ell') = 2 *vidatthi* (span) = 12 *angula*. According to RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins &c.*, p. 15 foll., the native tables of linear measures make the *yojana* between 12 and 12½ miles, but in actual practice it must have been reckoned as 7-8 miles.

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ADDENDA

v. 153. The meaning is as follows: The words *gacchāti* are a polite form of refusing a mendicant friar: 'go on (to the next house).' Therefore Siggava could say that he had received something (i.e. a polite answer), without telling a lie. Formerly he had received nothing at all, no alms, nor even an answer, but had been entirely disregarded. See *Mūlinda-pōṭha* 8; RHYS DAVIDS, *S.B.E.* xxxv, p. 15, and note.

xxix. 40. Translate: From his dwelling-place, the Vattaniya (*ārāma*) in the Viñjhā forest hills came the thera Uttara &c.

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